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A MANUAL

OF THE

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EAST,

TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MEDIAN WARS.

THE

Student's Manual of Oriental History.

A MANUAL

OF THE

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EAST

TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MEDIAN WARS;

142785

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VOL. II.

MEDES AND PERSIANS, PHŒNICIANS, AND ARABIANS.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

It was announced in the Preface to the First Volume, that the English edition of M. Lenormant's Manual would, following the last French edition, contain histories of the Arabians and of the Indians; and it will be seen that the volume now published terminates with the history of the Arabians, omitting that of the Indians.

It is necessary to explain the reason for this departure from the original plan of the work.

The Manual has met with great success, and has been very favourably received by the reviewers. Some few minor points have been objected to, chiefly those on which there exists a difference of opinion between the French school of Assyrian research, headed by M. Oppert, and the English followers of Sir H. C. Rawlinson; but the work has been pronounced "a remarkable one," and as marking "a stage in the progress of historical knowledge and ideas, to which the reading world in England will do well to give its serious attention."

To the book on the "History of the Indians," however, serious exception has been taken, not from any want of ability in M. Lenormant's treatment of the subject, but from a distrust of the reality of the foundation on which all the history of Ancient India rests. One able reviewer in particular, himself one of the highest authorities on all branches of Oriental history, writes, that "it is very questionable whether India can properly be said to have a history at all during the period designated by M. Lenormant in the title of his work." And that "the real history of India commences with Alexander, or perhaps

we should rather say with Sandrocottus, and that to begin earlier is to fail of distinguishing between fact and fiction, history and legend."*

Professor Max Müller, also, after giving an account of the clever forgeries which imposed on Colonel Wilford, and even Sir W. Jones,† adds, "It is by no means certain that a further study of Sanscrit will not lead to similar disenchantments, and deprive many a book in Sanscrit literature, which is now considered as very ancient, of its claims to any high antiquity. Certain portions of the Veda even, which, as far as our knowledge goes at present, we are perfectly justified in referring to the tenth or twelfth century before our era, may, some day or other, dwindle down from their high estate, and those who have believed in their extreme antiquity, will then be held up to ridicule like Sir W. Jones, or Colonel Wilford."

In the face of such expressions as these, it was considered that—in spite of the great interest, especially for Englishmen, attaching to the history of India—it would be unwise to publish, as history, anything which it was possible that further research might prove to be mere myth, resting on no solid historical foundation; and that, too, in a work which, beyond all other collective histories of the East, professes to be drawn from authentic and original sources.

It has therefore been decided to omit, for the present, the history of India.

In the short time that has elapsed between the publication of the French and of the English editions of the Manual, historical science has made no slight progress; and several discoveries, made subsequently to the publication of the French, will be found to be embodied in the English edition; and important notes, some of them contributed by the kindness of men of high attainments, have been added on obscure points.

In addition to the Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Median

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* Rev. Professor Rawlinson in the "Contemporary Review," April, 1870.

† Professor Max Müller, "Contemporary Review," April 1870.

alphabets, published in the first volume, the second will be found to contain the Persian Cuneiform, and a comprehensive table of the ancient Semitic alphabets, including that compiled from the recently discovered and highly important Moabite inscription of Mesha. This table, which will be found, it is believed, as valuable and useful as anything hitherto published, owes its chief value and importance to the kind revision of Mr. Deutsch, of the British Museum.

PAGE

CHAP. III.—TYRIAN EPOCH.

Section I. Commencement of the Supremacy of Tyre—Colonies in Sicily, Africa, and Spain 173
,, II. Alliance of Tyre with the Israelites—Hiram and Solomon—First Appearance of the Assyrians in Phœnicia — Foundation of Carthage 180
,, III. Last Days of the Supremacy of Tyre—Siege of the City by Sargon 187
,, IV. Assyrian Dominion in Phœnicia—Siege and Capture of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar 190
,, V. Invasion of Uahprahet—Dominion of the Babylonians—The Phœnician Cities under the First Persian Kings 196

CHAP. IV.—CIVILISATION, MANNERS, AND INFLUENCE OF THE PHŒNICIANS ON OTHER NATIONS.

Section I. Commerce 199
,, II. Colonies 204
,, III. The Phœnicians and Alphabetic Writing 206
,, IV. Arts and Agriculture 214
,, V. Language and Literature 217
,, VI. Religion 219
,, VII. Cosmogony 224
,, VIII. Arts and Monuments 229

CHAP. V.—CARTHAGE, ORIGIN AND FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF ITS POWER.

Section I. The Nations of Northern Africa 234
,, II. Foundation and Site of Carthage 244
,, III. First Carthaginian Territorial Acquisitions ... 246
,, IV. Quarrel with the Cyreneans—Establishment of Commerce with the Interior of Africa ... 249
,, V. Carthage in possession of the Tyrian Colonies in the west of the Mediterranean 254
,, VI. Wars with the Greeks of Sicily and the Phocæans 256
,, VII. Disaster in Sardinia—Rebellion of Malchus —Mago restores the Prosperity of the Republic 260
,, VIII. Progress of Colonisation and Commerce beyond the Pillars of Hercules—Great Exploring Expeditions—Voyages of Hanno and Himilco 262
,, IX. Hasdrubal, son of Mago—First Treaty of Rome with Carthage—Preparations for the Sicilian War 269

PAGE

CHAP. VI.—INSTITUTIONS AND MANNERS OF CARTHAGE.

Section I. Government 272
,, II. Commerce, Manufactures, and Agriculture... 277
,, III. Literature and Arts 278
,, IV. Religion 279

BOOK VII.—THE ARABIANS.

CHAP. I.—GEOGRAPHY AND ANCIENT PEOPLE OF ARABIA.

Section I. Principal Districts of the Arabian Peninsula 281
,, II. Races who successively Inhabited Arabia ... 283
,, III. The Adites, or Cushites of Southern Arabia 284
,, IV. The Aramæan Tribes 287
,, V. The Amalika 288
,, VI. The Joktanite Tribes 291

CHAP. II.—YEMEN.

Section I. The Ancient Adites 295
,, II. The Second Adites 298
,, III. Solomon and the Indian Commerce of Yemen 301
,, IV. Establishment of the Joktanite Supremacy—Emigration of the Adites into Abyssinia ... 308
,, V. The First Joktanite Kings of Yemen 311
,, VI. Institutions and Manners of the Sabæan Kingdom 317
,, VII. Religion 322

CHAP. III.—HEJAZ.

Section I. The Arab Legend of Ishmael 327
,, II. Commencement of the Joktanite Supremacy 329
,, III. Establishment of Israelitish Colonies at Khaybar and Yathrib 331
,, IV. Empire of the Jorham—Its Relations with the Assyrian Monarchy 333
,, V. Invasion of Nebuchadnezzar in Hejaz 341
,, VI. Manners and Customs of the Ancient Arabs 344
,, VII. Religion 349
,, VIII. The Hadj, or Pilgrimage to Mecca 354

CHAP. IV.—ARABIA PETRÆA.

Section I. Natural Divisions and Populations of the Country 358
,, II. The Amalekites 360
,, III. The Midianites 362
,, IV. The Edomites 363
,, V. The Nabatheans 366
,, VI. Manners and Religion of the Nabatheans ... 368

INDEX 371

LIST OF SCRIPTURE TEXTS QUOTED 393

LIST OF PASSAGES OF HERODOTUS QUOTED 395

THE

Student's Manual of Oriental History.

BOOK V.

THE MEDES AND PERSIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PRIMITIVE ARIANS.

Chief authorities:—A. Kuhn, *Zur ältesten Geschichte der Indogermanischen Völker*, in Vol. i. of the "*Indische Studien*" of M. A. Weber.—Benfey, *Griechisches Wurzellexicon.*—Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen.*—Bergmann, *Les Peuples primitifs de la race de Japhet.*—P. Bœtticher, *Arica.*—E. Curtius, *Die Ionier vor der ionischen Wanderung.*—G. Curtius, *Grundzüge des griechischen Etymologie.* 1858-1862.—A. Pichet, *Les Origines Indo-Européennes, ou les Aryas primitifs.* Paris, 1859—1863.—Schœbel, *Essai sur la religion première de la race Indo-Iranienne.* Paris, 1868.—The collection of "*Beiträge*," by M. A. Kuhn, and the "*Journal of Comparative Philology*," published by the same scholar at Berlin.

SECTION I.—DIVISIONS AND DWELLING-PLACES OF THE ANCIENT ANCESTORS OF THE ARIAN RACE.

1. THE most ancient traditions of the Japhetic, or Indo-European, race do not carry us much further back than about the year 3000 B.C. This great division of the human race was then entirely concentrated at no great distance from the primitive cradle of post-diluvian humanity, the starting-point of the sons of Noah, in Bactria—a country that we are entitled to consider as the most ancient historical dwelling-place of the race to which we belong, and as the source whence all its various tribes have successively issued.

Even while still united, living in one country and forming a single people, the chief branches of the family of Japhet had already a separate existence and spoke different dialects, derived, however, from one common tongue, whence, in later times, after the dispersion of the tribes, were derived a separate and distinct group of languages. The

whole of this great race assumed a common name, that of Arya, or Ariya, "the noble," a name preserved unaltered in Indian traditions, and in the name of that Asiatic district specially called Aria. Traces of it are also found among all nations of Arian family; for example, in the names of the Arii of Germany, of the Ases of Scandinavia, and of the Island of Erin (Ireland). *Arya* is derived from the root from which sprung, in Sanscrit, *Aryaman*, "friend;" *Ariaka*, "nobleman;" *Ariata*, "honourable conduct;" its meaning of "noble," "excellent," seems therefore to be well established.

Besides the differences of tribes, less distinct than they became in aftertimes, the Indo-European, or Japhetic race, from the most remote periods of which we know anything, exhibits a very clearly marked division, almost separating it into two nations: to the east, those who specially called themselves Arians, whose descendants inhabited Persia, India, and all the vast region known to the classical geographers as Ariana; to the west, the *Yavana*,* or the Young ones,† who first emigrated westward, and from whom have descended the various nations which have populated Europe. This is the name Javan found in the 10th chapter of Genesis, and the Ionians preserved it even in classical times.‡

2. We may, perhaps, be able to determine, in spite of the almost impenetrable obscurity of a subject on which no evidence of a date at all ancient exists, and where we are compelled to employ hypothesis as one of the chief means of investigation, the respective positions of the various tribes of the primitive Ariac family in their original settlement in Bactria, previous to the departure of the nations to people Europe. The Arians, using this word in the restricted sense that we have mentioned, occupied the eastern part of the country. One branch of them, the Iranians, who ultimately occupied Persia and Media, lived to the north-east, bordering on Sogdiana, towards the Belourtagh; these, owing to pressure arising from the increase of their population, extended themselves eastward into the elevated valleys, whence they afterwards descended into Bactria, when, in later times, the emigration of the Yavanas stripped those fertile districts of inhabitants. This seems the explanation of the ancient traditions of a period when a divine necessity compelled them to quit temporarily the Aryanem Vaêdjo, or primitive Ariana, that pleasant abode, to sojourn in a rigorous climate, where there were, as one of their sacred books says, "ten months of winter and two only of spring."

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* *Laws of Menu*, X. xliv. *Ramâyana* I. xlv., xlvi.; IV. xliii.

† Sanscrit, *yuvan;* Latin, *juvenis;* Lithuanian, *jaunas;* Slavonic, *iunu;* Gothic, *juggs.*

‡ Ἴωνες, originally Ἰάονες, Ἰάϝονες.

Beside the Iranians, to the south-east, probably in the fertile districts of Badakchan, were the tribes who afterwards conquered India, settled there, and formed the superior castes, first, however, resting on the flanks of the Hindoo Koosh, which it was necessary for them to cross or turn before arriving in Cabul and penetrating into Northern India. This confined position in the heart of Bactria, shut in by high mountain chains on the side where emigration would most naturally take place, explains why the Arians, properly so called, remained so much longer than the other Japhetic tribes in the original habitation of their race. The Yavanas occupied the western part of Bactria, and were distributed in the following manner:—To the south-west, towards the sources of the Artamis and Bactrus, were the Pelasgic tribes, from whom descended the Greeks, the Latins, and the other Italians, as well as a part of the inhabitants of Asia Minor; thence they advanced first in the direction of Herat, continuing their emigration towards Asia Minor and the Hellespont by way of Khorassan and Mazanderan. The tribe that gave birth to the great Celtic race occupied the western region on the side of Margiana. Perfectly free to move towards the west, this race must have been among the first to emigrate under the pressure of the increase of population among the other tribes.

The Celts in all probability first extended themselves in the direction of Merv and Hyrcania; then turning to the south of the Caspian Sea, they halted at the foot of the Caucasus, in the fertile lands of Iberia and Albania, and the names of these countries seem to be one remaining trace of their temporary establishment. In later times, pushed forward no doubt by some new Iranian colonies—by the Georgians, who descended from the mountains of Armenia, and by tribes coming from the north—they passed the defiles of the Caucasus, and travelling northward of the Black Sea, reached the Danube, and continued their progress towards Central Europe, a progress not arrested until they had reached the extreme west. This long migration was not all accomplished in one unbroken course, and throughout this long road many names of lands, rivers, and nations, but little known elsewhere, bear testimony to establishments originally Celtic, but invaded subsequently, entirely or partially, by the Germanic emigration that succeeded them.

To return to Bactria and the original domicile of the Japhetic tribes, who were there assembled rather more than 3000 years B.C., we have only now to mention, as inhabiting the banks of the Oxus, their northern boundary, the Germanic and Slavonic tribes, who were extended also southward into the heart of the country in the fertile valleys of the affluents of that great river, and therefore in three directions in contact with the other tribes. At an early period these two prolific races crossed the Oxus, to spread themselves over the vast regions of Scythia, and there remained probably for many centuries before advancing into Europe, in

which direction they were gradually pressed by the invasion of the Turanian races. This last movement must have been commenced long before our era, and probably started from the countries between the Tanais, the Tyras, and the Ister, from beyond the Hæmus, for in the time of Alexander the mass of the Germanic races had already advanced beyond the Black Sea, as far as the Rhine and the Baltic. The Lithuanians and Slavonians, spreading further to the north and east, followed next, and finding Europe already partly pre-occupied, remained in the north-eastern countries.

SECTION II.—MANNERS AND DEGREE OF CIVILISATION.

1. COMPARATIVE philology, taking the words of the language as the only monuments remaining of the primitive condition of the Japhetic races, has succeeded to a great extent in restoring a picture of their social condition before their dispersion. To M. Pictet, of Geneva, must be assigned the honour of having pushed to their greatest extent, and having most completely developed researches in "Linguistic Palæontology," a happy phrase invented by himself. The starting-point for these researches was the ingenious and true conjecture, that words found in the Sanscrit, the sacred language of India, in the Zend, the ancient idiom of the Iranians, and also in the languages of Europe, with no sensible change in form or meaning, give the means of approximating to the degree of civilisation that the various tribes of Arians and Yavanas had attained, whilst they still lived side by side in Bactria, before quitting their first habitations to spread into the various countries where in later times they lived.

2. All the words appropriate to pastoral life, commencing with the name of the cattle themselves,[1] are the same in the various groups of Indo-European languages; from which we have the right to suppose that the sons of Japhet followed chiefly this mode of life in the lands watered by the Oxus. Almost all the domestic animals were known to them; they had oxen,[2] horses,[3] dogs,[4] sheep,[5] pigs,[6] she-goats,[7]

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[1] Sanscrit, *paçu;* Latin, *pecus;* Borussian, *pecku;* Greek, πῶυ; Gothic, *faihu.*

[2] Sanscrit, *go, gaus;* Latin, *bos;* Greek, βοῦς; German, *kuh.*—Sanscrit, *vakhsha;* Latin, *vacca.*

[3] Sanscrit, *açva;* Zend, *açpa;* Greek, ἵππος, and ἵκκος; Latin, *equus.*

[4] Sanscrit, *çvan;* Greek, κύων; Latin, *canis.*

[5] Sanscrit, *avis;* Latin, *ovis;* Slavonic, *ovtza;* Greek, ὄις.

[6] Sanscrit, *sukara;* Latin, *sus;* Greek, ὗς; old High German, *su.*

[7] Sanscrit, *ava;* Greek, αἶξ; Erse, *aghi;* Irish, *aighe;* Lithuanian, *ojis.*

he-goats,[1] kids,[2] geese.[3] This comparison of words teaches us also that they knew how to use both horses and oxen in the yoke,[4] and to harness them to wheeled vehicles,[5] but had not yet learned to ride on the backs of horses, an art scarcely known to the Greeks of the Homeric age. They had discovered how to work some of the metals—gold,[6] silver,[7] and bronze, but not iron.[8] They used arms—lances,[9] javelins,[10] arrows[11]; but it seems they were not acquainted with the sword, for which there is no common name in this family of languages. It is otherwise with the buckler,[12] used for defence by even the most savage people. The primitive Arians, previous to the separation of the eastern and western tribes, also made ornaments, jewellery more or less rude,[13] such as necklaces[14] and rings.[15]

These tribes did not live in tents like the Arabs, or in wagons like the Scythians; they knew how to construct fixed habitations,[16] to enclose the domestic hearth,[17] around which the family was seated,[18] with

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[1] Sanscrit, *urana;* Lithuanian, *baronas;* Greek (applied to the ram), *ἀρνός.*

[2] Latin, *hædus;* Sabine, *fedus;* Gothic, *gaitsa.*

[3] Sanscrit, *hansa;* Irish, *gantra;* Latin, *anser;* old High German, *kans;* Greek, *χήν;* Russian, *ghousse.*

[4] Sanscrit, *jugam;* Greek, *ζυγόν;* German, *joch.*

[5] Sanscrit, *akshas;* Latin, *axis;* Greek, *ἄξων,* whence came *ἅμαξα.*

[6] Latin, *aurum;* Erse, *or;* Cymric, *awr;* Borussian, *ausis;* Lithuanian, *auksas.*

[7] Sanscrit, *vadjata;* Zend, *erezata;* Armenian, *ardzath;* Greek, *ἀργύριον;* Latin, *argentum;* Irish, *airgeat.*

[8] The word *ayas* originally meant "metal" in Gothic. It became the name of iron, *ais,* in Latin; of bronze, *æs.* The Greek *σίδηρος* seems to prove that the first iron they used was of meteoric origin; the Latin *ferrum* is of Semitic origin.

[9] Sanscrit, *çala;* Irish, *cail;* Sabine, *curis.*

[10] Sanscrit, *pilu;* Latin, *pilum;* Cymric, *pilwrm;* Scandinavian, *pila.*

[11] Sanscrit, *ishu;* Greek, *ὀϊστός.*

[12] Sanscrit, *tcharma;* old German, *scerm;* Greek, *πάρμη;* Latin, *parma.* Latin, *scutum;* Slavonic, *schtitu.*

[13] Sanscrit, *mani;* Irish, *maini;* Greek, *μάνον;* Latin, *monile;* Anglo-Saxon, *menas.*

[14] Sanscrit, *sara;* Greek, *ὅρμος;* Slavonic, *useregu.*

[15] Sanscrit, *anguliya;* Zend, *angust;* Latin, *annulus;* Irish, *aigiolain.*

[16] Sanscrit, *dama;* Zend, *demana;* Greek, *δόμος;* Latin, *domus;* Irish, *damh;* Anglo-Saxon, *team;* Slavonic, *domu.*

[17] Sanscrit, *vasi, vasta;* Greek, *ἑστία;* Latin, *vesta;* Irish, *fois;* Lithuanian, *weisle.*

[18] Sanscrit, *sadas;* Zend, *hadis;* Greek, *ἕδος;* Latin, *sedes;* Irish, *sadhbh;* Scandinavian, *setr;* Slavonian, *siedalo.*

properly constructed houses, having walls,[1] a roof,[2] a door,[3] and an outer enclosing wall.[4] These dwellings were already grouped into villages,[5] and even towns,[6] after a fashion.

2. The elements of agriculture were not unknown to these primitive Arians, but as yet they only slightly stirred the soil to sow their seed; and it was only after their migration that the Japhetic races learned from more advanced nations to manage the plough, to sow different species of grain, to cultivate roots, to plant the vine, and to press out the oil from the olive. Thus the greater number of words appropriated to agricultural life are found with the same meaning in Latin and Greek, but are not found with this particular sense in the Sanscrit. Grain,[7] ground[8] and made into flour,[9] formed the chief part of the food of the primitive Japhetic tribes; and by this especially the races who migrated westward are distinguished from the savage nations who had preceded them, who were compelled to feed on berries and roots. The use of meat[10] was also known to them, and they employed salt[11] as a condiment. Lastly, they not only used wagons, but also had small vessels.[12] These, of course, were only frail skiffs, propelled solely by oars,[13] and they had neither masts nor sails, for the words used for these latter are not common to all, but peculiar to each language of the family.

According to scientific opinions, these people, although certainly still very ignorant, nevertheless divided the year according to the

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[1] Latin, *murus;* Irish, *mur;* Anglo-Saxon, *mur;* Old German, *mura;* Lithuanian, *muras.*

[2] Sanscrit, *sthag;* Greek, στέγος; Latin, *tectum;* Irish, *teg;* Anglo-Saxon, *thac;* Lithuanian, *stogas.*

[3] Sanscrit, *dvara;* Greek, θύρα; Gothic, *dauro;* Old German, *turi;* Latin, *fores;* Lithuanian, *durrys*, Irish, *doras.*

[4] Sanscrit, *mandira;* Greek, μανδρα; Irish, *maindreach.*

[5] Greek, κώμη; Gothic, *haims;* Lithuanian, *kaimas.*

[6] Sanscrit, *pur, pura;* Greek, πόλις; Lithuanian, *pillis;* Cymric, *plwg.*

[7] Sanscrit, *adna, anna;* Latin, *ador;* Scandinavian, *neti;* Anglo-Saxon, *ata;* Irish, *etha.*—Sanscrit, *sitya;* Greek, σῖτος.

[8] Sanscrit, *malana;* Greek, μύλλω; Latin, *molo;* Irish, *meilim;* Gothic, *malan;* Lithuanian, *malti;* Slavonic, *mlieti.*

[9] Sanscrit, *samida;* Greek, σεμίδαλις; Latin, *simila;* Scandinavian, *similia;* Anglo-Saxon, *smeodoma.*

[10] Sanscrit, *kravya;* Greek, κρέας; Anglo-Saxon, *hreaw;* Scandinavian, *hrae.*

[11] Sanscrit, *saras;* Latin, *sal;* Greek, ἅλς.

[12] Sanscrit, *naus;* Latin, *navis;* Greek, *ναῦς.*—Sanscrit, *plava;* Greek, πλοῖον; Old German, *pfluoch, ploh;* Scandinavian, *plogr.*

[13] Sanscrit, *aritram;* Greek, ἐρετμός; Latin, *remus.*

periodical revolutions of the moon,[1] and they had already in use a decimal system of numeration.

Section III.—Family and Social Relations.

1. Among the primitive Arians in Bactria we find the family respected, and its powerful bonds form the basis of all social organisation. Marriage[2] was a consecrated and free act, preceded by betrothal, and symbolised by the joining of hands.[3] The husband, in the presence of the priest, both while it was still vested in the head of the family, and also after the priesthood became separated, took the right hand of the bride with his own right hand, pronouncing certain sacred formula; the bride was then conducted[4] on a wagon drawn by two white oxen.[5] The father of the bride presented a cow to his son-in-law, intended originally for the wedding feast, but in later times taken to the house of the bridegroom; this was the dowry,[6] an emblem of agricultural richness.[7] The bride's hair was then divided by a dart (a porcupine quill among the Indians, an iron lance among the Romans); she was then conducted round the domestic hearth, and was received at the door of her new abode with a present of fire and water.

Undoubted vestiges of these symbolical ceremonies of primitive ages are to be found in the ancient customs of all Indo-European nations.

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[1] Month, Latin, *mensis;* Greek, *μήν*, from *masa, mos,* "moon;" in Zend, *mao;* Old German, *mano;* Irish, *mios.*

[2] Sanscrit, *gama;* Greek, *γάμος;* Irish, *gamh.*

[3] In Sanscrit, marriage is called *karagraha,* or *panigraha,* a "taking by the hand," and the husband is termed *hastagrabha,* "the taker by the hand"; in Greek, *ἐγγύη,* betrothal, from the old word for "hand," *angu*—the *dextrarum junctio* was among the Romans an essential part of the marriage ceremony; the Slavonian *obratchiniku,* husband, is derived from *raku,* hand.

[4] Sanscrit, *vahya,* wife, *vodhar,* husband, from the root *vah,* to conduct, lead; in Zend, *vaz;* in Lithuanian, *westi,* to conduct, and to espouse. (Compare the Tschekh, *wdam;* the Cymric, *gweddu;* Anglo-Saxon, *weddian;* Scandinavian, *ved;* the Latin phrase, *ducere uxorem.*)

[5] Rig Veda X., lxxxv. 10.

[6] Sanscrit, *godana,* "the gift of the cow"; Polish, *gody.*

[7] In Homer (*Iliad,* xviii. 594), marriageable girls are called *ἀλφεσίβοιαι,* that is, those who obtain cows. The dowry was called in Old German, *faderfio;* in Scandinavian, *faidhering feoh,* "the father's cattle," whence comes the phrase, *maidenfee,* still used in England in a kindred sense. In Irish, the words *crodh, spre, spreidh,* mean both cattle and dowry. Among the peasants of Suabia the custom is still observed of giving the bride the best cow in the herd, termed *Brautkuh.*

Once introduced to the dwelling of her husband, the wife, among the primitive Arians, was treated with the affection and respect due to her by whom the race was to be perpetuated. She was alone there, for polygamy was a vice introduced, after the degradation produced by contact with corrupt civilisations, into Iran and some other countries; but, as a rule, the Japhetic races are, of all mankind, those who have most faithfully kept to the original precept revived by the Gospel—*solus cum sola*, as well as those among whom the condition of women has been highest and most honourable. She was, doubtless, submissive in the house to the authority of her husband, but that authority was tempered by mutual love—by respect on one side, and protection on the other.

2. Under the influence of these happy sentiments, the birth of the infant was welcomed as of him "who gives joy" (*harshayitnu*), "who increases good fortune" (*nandavardhana*), "who drives away grief" (*kleçapaha*, as he was called in the ancient hymns of India). This tenderness was extended to the daughter as well as the son; she is also called by the Indians *nandana*, "she who rejoices." Between the brother and sister were established the affectionate relations so well expressed by the names, "he who sustains" (*bratar*, from the root *bhar*, to bear, support[1]); and "he who is good, friendly" (*svasar*, connected with *svasti*, goodness, good fortune[2]). Domestic duties are also distinguished: the son is "he who purifies" (*putra*, from the root *pu*[3]); that is, according to the idea still preserved among the Indians, he who frees the father from the duty of propagating his race. The daughter is "the guardian of the flocks, she who brings milk from the cows" (*duhitar*, from the root *duh*[4]). The name of the father signifies "protector" of the family (*pitar*, from the root *pa*[5]), and the phrase employed to designate every ancestor has the same sense (*avuka*, from the root *av*[6]); and lastly, the universal appellation of the mother means "the creatrix," she who brings children into the world (*matar*, from the root *ma*[7]).

3. In the course of its development the family became the clan, *viç*.

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[1] Zend, *bratar;* Greek (an ancient word), φρητης; Latin, *frater;* Irish, *braithir;* Gothic, *brothar;* Lithuanian, *brotis*, contracted from *brotelis;* Slavonic, *bratru.*

[2] Zend, *qanhar;* Latin, *soror;* Irish, *sethar;* Gothic, *svistar;* Borussian, *shostro;* Slavonic, *sestra.*

[3] Zend, *puthra;* Latin, *puer;* Armorican, *paotr.*

[4] Zend, *dughdar;* Greek, θυγάτηρ; Gothic, *dauhtar;* Irish, *dear;* Lithuanian, *dukte;* Slavonic, *duschti.*

[5] Zend, *pitar;* Greek, πατηρ; Gothic, *fadar.*

[6] Latin, *avus;* Cymric, *ewa;* Gothic, *avo;* Lithuanian, *awynas;* Slavonic, *uietsi.*

[7] Zend, *madar;* Greek, μήτηρ; Latin, *mater;* Irish, *mathir;* Lithuanian, *mote;* Slavonic, *mati.*

This is an assemblage of brothers, as its Greek name, *φρατρία*, shows. The clan is a relationship that originated with the Japhetic nations, and existed in later times among the Iranians in India, Ireland, Scotland, and among the Slavonians. At its head was a chief, or patriarch, the eldest, the head of the family,[1] invested with absolute power, and that by right divine, as was the Roman paterfamilias. He, however, could not decide on his own unsupported authority; he was assisted by a council, *sabha*,[2] composed of a certain number of elders, fathers of families, who were accustomed to deliberate with him. Beyond the clan we find the tribe a still larger extension of the family; all its members tracing back to one common origin, as its name indicates in Zend, *zanter*, identical with the Latin *gens*, and its Greek name, *φυλή*, from *φύω*, to "germinate, generate, produce"; the assemblage of tribes constituted the nation, which, therefore, is but a larger family,[3] a multitude,[4] an assemblage of men attached to each other by common ties.[5] As a supreme chief above the heads of the clans and of the tribes, they have a king, whose name signifies the director,[6] the sustainer.[7]

The king, among the primitive Japhetic races, made war and peace, and had command of the warriors.[8] The art of war sprung up, and villages and hamlets were surrounded by enclosures rudely fortified.[9] Towns even were built. The conquered foreigner is made prisoner, and becomes a slave.[10]

The king also administered justice; but, strange to say, the decision of doubtful cases was referred to the judgment of God, and this was the original of the German ordeal. There was, first, the proof by fire,

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[1] Sanscrit, *viçpati*; Zend, *viçpaiti*; Lithuanian, *weszpatis*; Slavonian, *gospodar*.

[2] Compare the Gothic, *sibja*, and the Irish, *sabb*.

[3] Sanscrit, *djana*, similar to the Greek, *γενος*, and the Latin, *genus*. Latin, *natio*, for *gnatio*.

[4] Greek, *πλῆθος*; Latin, *plebs*; Cymric, *plwyf*; Anglo-Saxon, *folc*; Slavonic, *pleme*.

[5] Greek, *δῆμος*; Irish, *damh*; Anglo-Saxon, *team*; from the root *dam*, "to bind."

[6] Sanscrit, *radj*; Latin, *rex*; Irish, *rig*; Gothic, *reiks*.

[7] *Bharatha*, from the root *bhar*; Persian, *bari*; Irish, *barn*; Gaulish, *brennos*; Anglo-Saxon, *beorn*.

[8] Sanscrit, *pwri*; Cymric, *por*; Gothic, *frauja*; titles of the king, from the root *pur*, "to go before."

[9] Sanscrit, *varana*; Zend, *vara*; Latin, *vallum*; Irish, *fal*; Old German, *wari*; Anglo-Saxon, *weal*; Lithuanian, *wolas*.

[10] The Sanscrit, *dasyu*, "enemy," corresponding to the Greek *δήιος*, gives us the origin of *δεσπότης*, "master," he who rules over enemies reduced to slavery; in Sanscrit, *dasapati*. To the same root, it seems, may also be attached the Greek *δοῦλος*, "slave" (Irish, *duile*), for *δοσυλος*, parallel to the Sanscrit *dasra*, synonymous with *dasyu*.

most generally employed in early times, and then the trial by water and by oil. "Let the judge make him whom he wishes to prove take hold of fire, or direct him to be plunged into water," say the old Indian Institutes of Menu,* embodying an older tradition—"He whom the flame does not burn, and who does not float without effort on the water, must be acknowledged as truthful." In fact, in one of the epic poems of India, the Ramayana, the beautiful and virtuous Sita passes through the fire, to dissipate the unjust suspicions of her royal husband, Rama. The fire ordeal, introduced by the Japhetic tribes both into the west and into India, was managed in this way: a trench was dug and filled with live coals, and the accused was made to pass through it (this method was in use among the Germans down to the commencement of the middle ages); or else nine concentric circles were marked out, with a distance of sixteen finger breadths between each. The iron head of a lance, or a ball of metal five pounds' weight, was heated red hot; it was necessary to carry the red-hot metal, without being burnt, across the eight first circles, and to throw it into the ninth, where it must be hot enough to burn the grass. This trial was commonly used in India; it is also the *gestatio ferri* of the Scandinavians, and the "judgment by fire" (*ienordal*) of the Anglo-Saxons; and an invaluable passage in Sophocles† shows that it was used among the most ancient Greeks. In the judgment by water, a ring was thrown into boiling water, and had to be taken out by the accused without being scalded (this practice was still in use among the Franks when they invaded Gaul, and it is described by Gregory of Tours, under the Merovingian kings); or else the person was thrown into a pond of cold water, where, if he floated without effort, he was held to be guilty. This was the "water ordeal" (*wasser ordel*) of the Middle-age Germans.

SECTION IV.—RELIGION.

1. THE primitive religion of the Japhetic tribes, known to us from the sacred hymns, or Vedas, preserved traditionally by the tribes who conquered India, in one of its forms, not far removed from its original, was founded on the belief in the unity of the Deity. From this have sprung the religious beliefs of all Indo-European nations, particularly the Greeks. The ancestors of our race believed that everything proceeded from one celestial being—the being *par excellence*—God. *Deva*,

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* VIII. CXV.

† Ημεν δ' ἕτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἴρειν χεροῖν,
Καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν. *Antig.* 264, 5.

the Ζεὺς of the Greeks, the *Deus* of the Latins. This divine being was considered "The Living One," *Asura* among the Indians, *Ahura* among the Iranians, *Esus* among the Celts, *Æsar* among the Etruscans; "The Spirit," *Manu* in the Vedas, *Mainyu* among the Iranians; "The divine and eternal Spirit who fills the universe," *Nara* (Cymric *Ner*). One of the hymns of the Rig-Veda, in almost Biblical language, says of the God invoked in it, that he is "The only born Lord of all that is. He established the earth and this sky; . . .

"He who gives life, He who gives strength; whose blessing all the bright gods desire; whose shadow is immortality; whose shadow is death; . . .

"He who through his power is the only king of the breathing and awakening world; He who governs all, man and beast; . . .

"He whose power these snowy mountains, whose power the sea proclaims, with the distant river. He whose these regions are as it were His two arms; . . .

"He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm. He through whom the heaven was stablished—nay, the highest heaven. He who measured out the light in the air; . . .

"He to whom heaven and earth, standing firm by His will, look up trembling inwardly. He over whom the rising sun shines forth; . .

"Wherever the mighty water clouds went, where they placed the seed and lit the fire, thence arose He who is the only life of the bright gods; . . .

"He who by His might looked even over the water clouds, the clouds which gave strength and lit the sacrifice; He *who is God above all Gods*; . . . ."*

None but the Hebrews have employed more sublime language in their religion; and a conception of the Deity so exalted demonstrates most strikingly the moral superiority and the eminently spiritualistic tendencies of the Japhetic race, when contrasted with the gross naturalism of the most famous sanctuaries of Semitic or Hamitic Asia.

But this belief in the divine unity, a relic of the primitive faith of mankind and of the original revelation, was, among the ancient Japhetic races, as among all the nations of antiquity who had not a divine revelation for the preservation of the truth, disfigured by the introduction of pantheism, and by the personification of the attributes of the Supreme Being as so many separate gods, emanations from His substance. God the Creator was mistaken for the universe He had created; His unity was divided into a number of personages also believed to be divine, as the name both singular and plural, Visve Devas, sometimes used in the Vedas, implies.† Undoubtedly the original conception of

* MAX MÜLLER, *Sanscrit Literature*, p. 569. † Ibid. p. 532.

unity still remained behind these secondary personifications, and one hymn of the Rig Veda distinctly says that "Sages give many names to the being who is 'One,'" according to the nature of his manifestation, and the character under which he is adored. But the existence of these distinct personifications, each invested with an individuality, was a deplorable fall from the original conception, and completely hid it from view in the popular worship, directly leading to the depths of polytheism and idolatry. Each one of the qualities and attributes of the divine first principle was adored as a separate being formed out of the Divinity.

Thus we have Prajapati, "Lord of the World"; Purusha, "the supreme spirit"; Asura, "the living spirit" (whence as we have said were derived Esus and Æsar, and also the Assyrian Asshur); Daksha, "the powerful in will," "the wise"; Mithra or Aryaman, "the benevolent," "the friendly God"; Dhatar, "the Creator"; Savitri, "the progenitor" (the Saturnus of the old Latins); Ivashtri, "the creator." Every power of nature, and each physical phenomenon in which it is externally manifested, was also an object of worship, such as Agni, the fire, the principle of life which we recognise in the Hephæstus of the Greeks, and the Vesta of the Latins. Indra, the living power of that principle, as seen in fire and in lightning, called also Dyauspitar, "the luminous father," "the heaven father," whence the Diespiter or Jupiter of the Romans; Varuna, the heaven, the Ouranos of the Greek religion; Surya, the sun, the Greek Helios; and Parthivi Mutar, the "earth mother," the Fira Modor of the Anglo-Saxons, the Demeter of the Greeks, the Hertha of the Germans, Mahte of the Lithuanians, Tellus Mater or Ops of the Romans.

These secondary personages were perhaps more distinctly and completely separated from their original and single source among the Indo-European than among any other race; for the essentially anthropomorphic tendencies of the former led the popular imagination, and popular forms of speech, to ascribe to each a separate existence and definite individuality; and the same tendency led them, in all the supposed mutual relations of these personages, whether in their functions in the moral or physical government of the world, or in mythical tales, and dramatised histories, to depict them as living and acting in the same way as ordinary men. This gave rise to those fabulous stories to which the poetry of Greece and India has given so great celebrity, and has presented in such a variety of picturesque forms.

2. The Egyptians, as we have already shown, saw in the daily and yearly course of the sun the most striking manifestations of the Divine Being, and on this foundation they constructed their religion.* The

* Vol. i. p. 319.

Babylonians and their disciples the Assyrians, saw these manifestations in the stars of heaven, and their worship therefore assumed the astronomical and astrological character by which it was distinguished. The primitive Arians were not sufficiently learned to construct any similar system. The manifestations in which they recognised the divine power and adored its attributes, those which they personified and on which they founded their mythology, were purely atmospheric phenomena, giving fertility to the soil, the direct action of the sun on vegetation, the winds, mists, clouds, thunder and rain. Thus we find in the Vedas, among the divine personages to whom worship is addressed, Ushas, the dawn, the Eos of the Greeks, the Ostara of the Germans; the two Asvins, personifying the twilight of the morning and evening, the origin of the Greek Dioscuri; the Maruts, the winds, whose worship still prevailed in the primitive times of Greece, especially in the Athenian Tritopatores, a name that almost recalls the Vedic Tritsu; the Gandharvas, or celestial horses, who represented the rays of the sun, and gave the name and the first idea of the Grecian Centaurs.

Among natural phenomena, the primitive Arians were especially struck, as we see in the Vedic hymns, with those that seemed to reveal a strife in nature, an antagonism between two phenomena or two opposing principles, such as the struggle between day and night, between the sun's rays and clouds or fogs, the lightning rending the cloud and letting loose the fertilising rain; and they were naturally led to liken these physical phenomena to that strife between good and evil in the moral world, that must become evident to everyone who has lived long on earth.

From the observation of these phenomena of strife and antagonism, and the attempt to bring them into agreement with the preconceived idea of unity in substance and principle, added also to some remains of the teachings of the primitive revelation as to the ancient enemy of mankind—the tempter, the rebel against the Almighty—sprung the first germs of the doctrine of dualism, especially developed among all Arian races, and in later times the entire basis of the religious system of the Iranians. The existence must be admitted of two principles eternally at variance in the world, emanating though they do from the same original—principles on whose antagonism depend the life and duration of the world. In the Vedas this became the combat of Indra the luminous, with Vritra, the dark; among the Iranians it was figured by the contest of Ahura Mazda with Angro Mainyus (Ahriman), which the reforms of Zoroaster made of primary importance. With the Greeks it became the battle of Apollo with the Python, of Jupiter with the Titans, and in the ancient fables of Italy, that of Hercules with Cacus. It is to be found, in fact, in an infinity of mythical tales among all Indo-European nations.

3. External forms of worship, and especially sacrifice, played an important part in the religion of the primitive Japhetic races. Sacrifice they considered the work, *par excellence*, *Kratu*, so much so that it was itself considered to participate in the divine nature; it comprehended the rites, the offerings, and also the hymns and prayers; and in these hymns are found both dogma and moral.

The Vedic rites in their primitive simplicity seem to have preserved intact the sacrifice of ancient ages precisely as we find it among the old Pelasgi of Arcadia,* and the chief features of this rite have been preserved in the later ceremonies of all people of the race. The head of the family erected in an elevated place, whence it could be seen from afar, a rude altar of pieces of turf (*cespites*, among the primitive Romans†), or a stone with a large base, (*grâva prithubudhna*), under the open vault of heaven.

This altar, destined to be the seat, *dhasi*, of the Deity, consecrates the place where it stands, a place called *Vedi*, surrounded by an enclosure, the origin of the τέμενος of the Greeks. Leading a pastoral life, and subsisting on the produce of his flocks, the Arian consecrated his altar by anointing it with clarified butter (*havis*), and then on his knees (*mitadjnava*), or erect with his hands stretched out towards heaven (*uttanahasta*), he addressed an invocation to the Deity (*havani*), singing extempore hymns. Wood was then placed on the altar, the fire was lighted, both the symbol and substance of *Agni*, by rubbing together dry branches of trees (*arani*). The worshipper then elevated in a wooden cup (*tchamasa potra*), the *Soma*, the divine beverage, the drink of the god of battles, that animates his courage and inflames it almost to madness. This was the fermented juice of the stem and leaves of the *asclepias acida*, used instead of wine in a land where the vine is absolutely unknown; it was even then called *vinas*, "the desired," whence came *vinum;* in later times the Arian tribes, who arrived in more favourable climates, substituted for it the juice of the grape, and *Soma*, worshipped as one form of Agni, gave rise to the Dionysus of the Greeks. This liquor (*indu*) was thrown as a libation into the fire, and consumed as an offering (*prayas*, or *vadja*). The oblation offered was of butter (*ghrita*, or *havis*), of curdled milk (*dhadhi*), of grains of barley (*dhana*), and of cakes (*karambha*). For ordinary occasions these simple offerings sufficed, and it was only in solemn ceremonies that blood was required in sacrifice; victims were then taken from the herds, cows or goats; but the highest offering, the most solemn, is that of the noblest of all domestic animals, the sacrifice

* See MAURY, *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce Antique*, vol. i. p. 182.

† In this way were still constructed, in the time of Pausanias, altars to Zeus Lycæos and Zeus Clarios, in Arcadia. *Pausanias*, viii. liii. 9.

of the horse (*asvamedhas*), and this continued in use among the Scandinavians down to the time of their conversion to Christianity.

The burnt offering was accompanied, as we have already said, by prayer, a hymn interpretive of the symbols, a hymn of praise (*stouti*), adding a spiritual to the material offering. This had been taught by Vach (the Latin *Vox*), the sacred "speech," the "Word,"* the "first

* In using the expression "Word" for the *Vach* of the Rig Veda, and in other places for the *Honover* of the Zend Avesta, it seems necessary to point out how far it is considered that the Christian doctrine of the Word (*Logos*), as contained in the New Testament, is foreshadowed in these ancient religious works, and what is the connection of both with the "Memra" (Word) of the Targum and the "Wisdom" of Solomon.

Vach, or *Sarasvati*, the Goddess of Speech, the *Sakti*, or female form of Brahma, to whom frequent hymns are addressed in the Rig Veda, seems to have been worshipped as an audible manifestation of the Deity, corresponding to the *Avalokitesvara*, or *Kwan Yin*, the *Sakti* of *Amitabha*, of the later Buddhists—"the manifested voice (of the Deity)."*

The *Honover* of the Zend Avesta seems to have had much the same character as *Vach*, but to have been considered the "Word," or command, of the Deity employed in calling creation into existence, and was therefore the "Creating Word," or the "Word Creator."

The Wisdom (*Chochmah*) of Solomon, as the idea is first presented in the 8th and 9th chapters of the Book of Proverbs, and afterwards more completely developed in the book called "The Wisdom of Solomon," appears to be an attempt to define an intermediate, or mediating power between God and man—a divine teacher and instructor to lead man to God, or an attempt to personify the action of the Deity in the moral world.

The *Memra*, or Word, of the Jews—an expression first employed in the Targum of Onkelos—is one of the phrases so commonly substituted by the Jews for the name of God in all that related to the relations of the Deity with man.

The *Logos* of the Greek and later Hebrew philosophy was used in a double sense: one as Reason, "the immanent word," λόγος ἐνδιάθετος; the other, "the enunciative word"—the Word, properly so called, λόγος προφορικός. The one prepared men's minds for the revelation of the Holy Spirit, the other for the manifestation of the Son of God.

All that is true in the philosophic doctrine of the *Logos* has been adopted and embodied in the Gospel of St. John.

That the worship of *Vach* in the early Vedic ages was a dim foreshadowing of the true doctrine of the *Logos*, and that this conception was still further developed in the *Honover* of the Zend Avesta, can

* See the translation of *The Confessional Services of the Great Compassionate Kwan Yin*, by Rev. S. BEAL. Journ. R.A.S. Vol. ii., part ii. (New Series.)

of speaking beings," the "treasure of prayer," whom one of the hymns of the fourth *mandala* of the Rig Veda celebrates in these magnificent

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hardly be doubted, especially as the idea, adopted by the Buddhists, and interwoven with their creed, apart from and antagonistic to all Christian influence, has retained such a powerful hold on their minds that to this day words meaning "GLORY BE TO THE MANIFESTED WORD" may be read over the doors of nearly all the Buddhist temples in China and Japan. This Buddhist ascription of praise to *Kwan-yin* is *Namo Kwan-shai-yin Pusah, i.e.*, "Glory of the Bodhisatwa Kwan-shai-yin." Now *shai-yin* is the phrase which the first translators of the Gospel of St. John into Chinese designed to employ as equivalent to the *Logos* of the Evangelist; and the word *kwan*, although commonly rendered in the active voice as "he or she who beholds," is really the equivalent of the Sanscrit *Avalokita*, that is, "the manifested." The whole phrase, therefore, which the Chinese ignorantly inscribe on their temple-gates and tablets is, "Glory be to the manifested Word [or voice], *Bodhisatwa*," where Bodhisatwa implies a Supreme Being in a human form.*

The connection of the Wisdom (*Chochmah*) of Solomon with this worship of Vach and Honover is remarkable and interesting, especially when it is remembered that Solomon's fleets were in direct communication with the East, and when a comparison is made of the hymn in the text with the 8th and 9th chapters of Proverbs; though, as might be expected, the doctrine in the latter is purer, and bears evidences of the acquaintance of the writer with divine revelation. In these passages Wisdom is anterior to Creation, and witnesses, but takes no part in the act. Her "delights were with the sons of men"; her office to guide and direct mankind to choose the better path.

The *Memra* of the Targum does not seem to have had any connection with this *Wisdom;* but the adoption of the phrase certainly contributed to the spread of the Alexandrine doctrine of the *Logos*, which, at any rate in Palestine, appears to have embodied the idea of an outward mediator between God and man—of the Angel of the Covenant.

In the preface to St. John's Gospel the Evangelist adopted the current phrase, stripped it of all false philosophic doctrines, and clearly and authoritatively defined the truth,—who and what was the Word, Creator of the world, Mediator for man, manifestation of God. He thus brought into full light that truth which had been dimly and partially perceived by the fathers of the human race, and stamped it with the impress of divine revelation.

There are few more interesting points of contact between the primitive faiths of mankind and revealed truth than the adoration of *Vach* by the early Arian tribes of India, of *Honover* by the Zoroastrians, the conception of *Wisdom* by Solomon, of Memra by the Targumist, of the Logos by the Alexandrian philosophers, and the final testimony of the apostle to the germ of truth contained in each and all of them; and

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* Communicated by Rev. S. Beal, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, author of translations of the *Diamond Sutra*, Great Parameta Heart Sutra; of the Travels of the Buddhist Pilgrim, Fah Hian, etc.

words:—"I am queen and mistress of riches, I am wise. . . . He who is born, who breathes, who hears, feeds with me on this sacred food. He who knows me not is lost. Listen then to me, for I speak words worthy of belief. I speak good things for the gods, and for the children of *manu* (men). Whom I love I make terrible, pious, wise, bright. . . . I traverse heaven and earth. I exist in all worlds, and extend towards the heavens. Like the wind, I breathe in all worlds. My greatness extends beyond this world, and reaches even beyond heaven itself."

SECTION V.—TRADITIONS OF THE CREATION.

1. THE Japhetic tribes, before their dispersion, were already possessed of a cosmogony inspired by the ancient traditions of early ages, and resembling in many respects the Biblical narrative, altered, however, by the pantheistic notion that substitutes emanation for creation, and considers matter as a part of the divine substance.

One of the hymns of the 10th Mandala (book) of the Rig Veda says, "Nothing that is was then, even what is not did not then exist." We give the hymn in the beautiful version in Max Müller's "Sanscrit Literature" (p. 564):—

> Nor aught nor naught existed; yon bright sky
> Was not, nor heaven's broad woof outstretched above.
> What covered all? what sheltered? what concealed?
> Was it the water's fathomless abyss?
> Then was not death—hence, there was naught immortal,
> Then was no confine betwixt day and night;
> The only One breathed breathless in itself,
> Other than it there nothing since has been.
> Darkness then was, and all at first was veiled
> In gloom profound,—an ocean without light.
> The germ that still lay covered in the husk
> Burst forth, one nature, from the fervent heat.
> Then first came Love upon it, the new spring
> Of mind—yea, poets in their hearts discerned,
> Pondering, this bond between created things
> And uncreated. Comes this spark from earth,
> Piercing and all-pervading, or from heaven?

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it can hardly be doubted that this is one of the shattered fragments of a primitive revelation.

It will therefore be understood, that in using the expression "Word" in the text it is intended to convey the idea that there was among these ancient people a true, though much misunderstood, belief in the Word, the Son of God, the Creator of the world, the Mediator between a pure and holy God and His erring creatures.

Then seeds were sown, and mighty power arose—
Nature below, and Power and Will above.
Who knows the secret? who proclaimed it here?
Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang?
The gods themselves came later into being.—
Who knows from whence this great creation sprang?
He from whom all this great creation came.
Whether His will created or was mute,
The Most High Seer, that is in highest heaven,
He knows it,—or perchance e'en He knows not.

This is the same statement, under a form less anthropomorphic, and more metaphysical indeed, as that at the commencement of the *Theogony* of Hesiod—"In the beginning was Chaos, next the Earth, with its broad bosom, the immoveable foundation of all beings; the vast Tartarus, in the depth of its abyss; and *Love*, the most beautiful of all the immortal gods." In one of the most poetical of the choruses of Aristophanes* we read—"Dark Chaos and night existed, and in the beginning dark Erebus and Tartarus; but neither Earth, nor Air, nor Sky were then. Before all, in the infinite circle of Erebus, the black-winged night produced an egg, not brooded on, whence in time sprang Love, parent of desire, beating its back with its gilded wings like the whirls of a tempest. Joined with the dark and restless chaos in the depths of Tartarus, it produced heaven, the sea, earth, and the deathless race of the immortal gods." As we see, therefore, the legend of the cosmogony received by the primitive Japhetic race, with the circumstance of the primordial chaos—itself an emanation from the divine substance, whence as a new emanation sprang the organised world—was carried with them by the tribes who emigrated from the common centre both into Greece and into India.

2. It was the same with the tradition of the deluge, which evidently held an important place in the legends of the primitive Japhetic people in Bactria. The following is the translation by Max Müller† of a Sanscrit poem of the age immediately following the Vedic period, called the Satapathabrahmana:—

"To Manu they brought in the morning water to wash. As they bring it with their hands for the washing, a fish comes into the hands of Manu as soon as he had washed himself.

"He spoke to Manu the word, 'Keep me, I shall preserve thee.' Manu said, 'From what wilt thou preserve me?' The fish said, 'The flood will carry away all these creatures. I shall preserve thee from it.' 'How canst thou be kept?' said Manu. The fish replied, 'As long as we are small there is much destruction for us; fish swallows fish. First, then, thou must keep me in a jar. If I outgrow it, dig a hole and keep

* *Aves*, 693—702. † *Sanscrit Literature*, p. 425.

me in it. If I outgrow this, take me to the sea, and I shall be saved from destruction.'

"He soon became a large fish. He said to Manu, 'When I am full-grown, in the same year the flood will come. Build a ship, then, and worship me; and when the flood rises go into the ship, and I shall preserve thee from it.'

"Manu brought the fish to the sea, after he had kept him thus. And in the year which the fish had pointed out Manu had built a ship, and worshipped the fish. Then when the flood had risen he went into the ship. The fish came swimming to him, and Manu fastened the rope of the ship to a horn of the fish. The fish carried him by it over the northern mountain.

"The fish said, 'I have preserved thee. Bind the ship to a tree. May the water not cut thee asunder while thou art on the mountain. As the water will sink thou wilt slide down.' Manu slid down with the water, and this is called the Slope of Manu on the northern mountain. The flood had carried away all these creatures, and thus Manu was left there alone."

Manu then was saved; and then he offered the sacrifice, to be "the model for all future generations." By this sacrifice he obtained a daughter, named Ida, or Ila, who became supernaturally the mother of humanity. Manu received the title of "Father of mankind" (*Manush pitar*), and his name even became their generic appellation for men, who are called *Manor apatya*, "descendants of Manu;" and Manu means "the intelligent being, Man."

The Greeks had two different traditions as to the deluge which destroyed primitive humanity. With the first was connected the name of Ogyges, the first king of Attica, an entirely mythical personage, who is lost in mist of ages; his name even is derived from the primitive designation of the deluge (Sanscrit *augha*). It was reported that in his time all the country was covered by the deluge, and that the waters reached even to the heavens, and that he escaped in a vessel with some companions. The second tradition is the Thessalian story of Deucalion. Zeus having resolved to destroy the men of the age of bronze, whose crimes had excited his wrath, Deucalion, by the advice of Prometheus his father, constructed an ark, in which he took refuge with his wife Pyrrha. The deluge came; the ark floated above the waters for nine days and nine nights, and was at last left stranded on Mount Parnassus. Deucalion and Pyrrha came out, offered a sacrifice, and repeopled the world, according to the orders of Jupiter, by casting behind them the *bones of the earth*, that is stones, which were changed into men. This Greek tradition is worthy of notice, as, like that in the Book of Genesis, it records the moral cause of the catastrophe—the destruction of wicked men, which the Indian legend does not allude to.

Among the Celts in Great Britain there was a similar tradition. "The first misfortune," says an ancient Welsh poem,* "was the overflow of the *Llynn-Hion*, or lake of waves, and the occurrence of a general inundation (*bawdd*), by which all men were destroyed, with the exception of Dwyfan and Dwyfach, who saved themselves in a vessel without sails; by them the island of Britain was repeopled." In the Scandinavian Edda, the three sons of Borr, Odin, Vili, and Ve, grandsons of Bure, the first man, kill Ymir, father of the ice giants, from whose body they make the earth. Blood runs from his wounds in such abundance that all the race of giants was destroyed, except Begelmir, who saves himself in a ship with his wife, and repeoples the earth. The Lithuanians, the one of the Japhetic races whose language has sustained least alteration, related, before their conversion to Christianity, that the god Pramzimas, seeing the earth full of disorder, sent two giants, Wandu and Wejas (water and wind), to destroy it. They overturned everything in their rage; only a few men saved themselves on a mountain. Touched with compassion, Pramzimas, who was then eating some of the nuts of heaven, let fall near the mountain a nutshell, in which men took refuge, and which the giants dared not touch. Having thus escaped this disaster, mankind afterwards dispersed. Only one very old couple remained in the country, and they were in distress at not having any children. Pramzimas sent a rainbow to give them hope, and told them to dance on the *bones of the earth*, for the Lithuanian legend employs here the same expression as that of Deucalion. The aged couple jumped nine times, and the result was nine couples, who became the ancestors of the nine Lithuanian tribes.†

We see that each of the Japhetic races, who, starting from the common centre of Bactria, dispersed themselves over the earth in various directions, has added to the groundwork of the original tradition ornaments more or less puerile. But the groundwork, in spite of all additions, remains the same, and contains all the essential features of the Biblical narrative,—a deluge destroying the human race as a punishment for its sins, except one righteous man, chosen by Providence to escape with his family from this disaster, and to repeople the earth.

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* MYRYRIAN, *Archæology of Wales*, vol. i., p. 59.
† HANUSH, *Slawische Mythologie*, p. 234.

CHAPTER II.

SEPARATION OF THE ARIAN NATIONS.—ZOROASTER AND HIS RELIGION.

Chief Authorities:—Anquetil Duperron, *Le Zendavesta.* Paris, 1771, 3 vols.—Eugène Burnouf, *Commentaire sur le Yaçna.* Paris, 1823.—*Etudes sur la Langue et sur les textes Zends.* Paris, 1850.—Westergaard, *Zend Avesta.* Copenhagen, 1865.—Ménant, *Zoroastre. Essai sur la philosophie réligieuse de la Perse.* 2nd ed. Paris, 1857.—Spiegel, *Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen.* Vienna, 1860; Eran, Berlin, 1863.—*Commentar über das Avesta.* Vol. i. Leipzig, 1865.—Oppert, *L'Honover, ou Verbe créateur de Zoroastre.* Paris, 1862.—Max Duncker, *Geschichte der Arier in der alten Zeit.* Leipzig, 1867.—Firdousi, *Le livre des Rois.* Traduction de M. Mohl. Paris, Imprimerie Royale.

SECTION I.—THE ARIANS AFTER THE EMIGRATION OF THE WESTERN TRIBES.

1. THE emigration towards the west of those Japhetic tribes who were to form the inhabitants of Europe was not the work of one day, or the result of one single exodus. It was brought about gradually, the effect of the increase of numbers among the Arians proper, who, stopped toward the east by almost impassable mountains, pushed by degrees the various Yavana tribes westward in the only direction in which free and open space for new dwellings could be found. There came a time, however, when this emigration, at first gradual and progressive, was suddenly hastened by some cause unknown to us, and when all who remained of those tribes who became ancestors of the nations of Europe set out all at once to seek their fortune, leaving the Eastern Arians in sole possession of the fertile lands, the first settlement of their race. Then it was that the Iranians descended from the cold, elevated valleys of the Belourtagh, where they had been shut up, and finding the road open, returned to the more favourable climate of Bactria. Then it was that the Arians of both one and the other branch extended themselves beyond the limits that had hitherto contained all the primitive Japhetic tribes, and occupied, to the north, Sogdiana, from the Oxus to the Jaxartes, and to the south, the province specially called Aria by the classical geographers. This great movement took place about 3,000 years before the Christian Era.

2. The period of the return of the Iranians toward their primitive dwellings, and of the first expansion of the Eastern Arians beyond the frontiers of Bactria, is represented in the popular legends of Iran,

collected by Firdusi in his "Book of Kings" by the mythical reign of Djemshid (Yima Khaeta), already mentioned in the books of Zoroaster. Djemshid is the personification of Arian society, now beginning to assume a more perfect organisation than before, to improve its agriculture, to build large cities, and to organise religious worship, but with an increased leaning to naturalism, for the Iranian legend, animated by the spirit of Zoroastrianism, reproaches Djemshid with having tarnished his glory by the establishment of idolatry.

Immediately after this epoch, the Iranian tradition, which, although it has assumed a purely fabulous form, must be founded on historical basis however much altered, places a foreign conquest, and seems to point to the time when the first Cushite empire at Babylon, founded by Nimrod, had extended its dominion by force of arms over the country inhabited by the Arians, as in later times did some of the Assyrian kings. It is, in fact, only an event of this kind that can be alluded to by the mythical Arab conqueror, Zohak, the sanguinary tyrant, corrupter of manners, the teacher of a monstrous and obscene religion, against which all the moral instincts of the Japhetic tribes revolted; that Zohak, who, like the Phœnician Moloch and the Adar Malik of the Sepharvaim in Chaldæa, required a succession of human victims to feed the two serpents coiled on his shoulders.

But the reaction of the proper genius and of the sentiment of Arian independence was not long in breaking out, and throwing off the yoke of the Hamite Babylonians. "There was at Ispahan" (!), runs the Iranian legend, "a man who had two young sons, very handsome in face, and endowed with all good natural gifts. One day these young men were seized, without the knowledge of their father or of their family, and killed, to feed with their brains the serpents of Zohak. The father's name was Caveh; he was a blacksmith, and was working at a forge in front of his house when he was told that his children had been taken and put to death. He at once left his forge, and in his distress traversed the city, carrying the leathern apron with which smiths protect their clothes from fire. His cries and lamentations resounded throughout Ispahan, and drew a large body of men round him. The inhabitants of Ispahan, tired of the cruelty of Zohak, rose in insurrection in a body, with Caveh the smith at their head, and hoisted his leathern apron on a pole as their standard."

Having conquered Zohak and his foreigners, Caveh placed on the throne Feridun (Thraetaona), grandson of Djemshid. We have quoted this legend, the production of a Moslem author of the eleventh century, who has removed its scene to Ispahan, the Persian capital of his own time, not because it is really historical, but because of the importance it assumed at a later period; for when the Sassanidæ had overthrown the empire of the Parthians, and had re-established the religion of

Zoroaster in all its purity, they adopted, in commemoration of this tale, a leathern standard encrusted with gems, which they called "the standard of Caveh." It was used only on solemn and important occasions, when the king himself took command of the troops. It was regarded as the *Palladium* of the monarchy, of the nation, of the Zoroastrian religion. Its capture by the Arabs at the battle of Cadesia at once brought about the rout of the army of Yezdegird and the destruction of the Persian monarchy by the arms of Islam.

3. Almost immediately after the deliverance of the Arians from the tyranny of Zohak, under the reign of this very Feridun, who is as mythical as all his predecessors, but who in all probability represents an historical epoch, Iranian tradition places the commencement of the long-lasting and constantly renewed struggle of the Arians against the Turyas, or Turanians, that is the Ugro-finnish races, chiefly those of the Turkish branch. We have already had occasion to speak of the early power of the Turanian tribes, or Scythians of Asia,* to whom the usually well-informed historian, Justin, assigns 1,500 years of dominion over a great part of the continent of Asia. We have also already spoken of their ancient civilisation, so long misunderstood, but now partly elucidated by modern science; a strange and incomplete civilisation, marked by gross Sabæism, by Hamitism, similar to that which now characterises the greater part of the Ugrian races, and is especially prominent among the Finns,—peculiarly materialistic tendencies, an absolute want of all moral elevation, but, at the same time, an extraordinary development of certain branches of knowledge, great progress in some points of material civilisation, whilst in others it remained quite rudimentary; that civilisation, in fact, to which the populations of the Tigro-Euphrates basin of Armenia and Susiana owed their system of cuneiform writing. The chief divinity these people worshipped was the great serpent, employed by Zoroaster as the emblem of Ahriman, the evil spirit—the serpent called Afrasiab in the Iranian legend, and that seems, in the ancient Turanian or Median language, to have borne the name of Farrursarabha.†

The Iranian traditions collected in the "Book of Kings," and in the Zend Zoroastrian books, represent the war between the Arians and Turanians as a contest between hostile brothers; and, in fact, as we have shown in our first chapter,‡ the Ugro-Finnish races must, according to all appearances, be looked upon as a branch, earlier detached than the others, from the Japhetic stem. But the war for all that

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* Vol. i., p. 343.

† See OPPERT, *Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique.* Paris, 1857.

‡ Vol. i., p. 62.

was not the less bloody and destructive. It was a religious even more than a national war, and it assumed the former character especially after the time of Zoroaster. It was, moreover, to some extent forced on them by circumstances, for the habitations of the Arians and the Turyas bordered on each other; the irresistible tendency to migration impelled them both in the same direction, and they both aspired to the possession of the same fertile and favoured lands. Confined to the rugged plains to the north of the Arians, the great mass of the Turanian tribes coveted the fertile valleys of Bactria, and wished to drive away those who inhabited them. Westward, one of their tribes descended into the district now called Kurdistan, into Media and Susiana; and just in that direction it was that a branch of the Arians advanced, when the increase of population forced them to emigrate. It was northward, in Sogdiana, following the course of the Jaxartes, and westward, in Margiana and Hyrcania, that the Arians and Turyas first came into contact and into antagonism; and, in fact, it is in these regions that the Iranian legend places the commencement of the struggle, and shows us the Turanians as having at first the advantage.

4. To this period of the Arian history—between the period of the migration of the western tribes, who went off to settle in Europe, and the division of the eastern tribes into two great branches, one of which advanced towards Media and Persia, while the other entered India—belong the oldest portions of the Vedas. They exhibit to us a state of society still resembling that of earlier ages, and the same religion. The population, however, is rapidly increasing, the cities are enlarging; agriculture is being developed—is progressing, and tending to supersede, at any rate partially, the pastoral mode of life.

A hierarchy is growing up in their society, classes and orders are being gradually established, not yet, however, developed into castes with impassable bounds, professions are generally hereditary, but it was still possible to pass from one to the other. The classes are those of the priests, warriors, and agriculturists, the latter sometimes divided into shepherds and labourers. These are the three orders that the Zend Avesta recognises among the Iranians, believed in later times to have been the descendants of the three sons of Zoroaster; and Herodotus mentions them as recognised by the Persians of his day.* In India the spirit of Brahminism and the result of the conquest raised these ancient Arian classes into castes, the three superior castes, whilst the conquered Hamite population were divided into the Dasyus and Sudras, and were looked upon as inferior and contemptible.

* HER. i. 125.

SECTION II.—ZOROASTER.

1. AT this period we must place the great religious reform among the Iranians, the credit of which is attached to the name of Zarathustra (splendour of gold), better known under the Hellenised form of Zoroaster. All ancient writers are agreed in assigning a very high antiquity to Zoroaster. Pliny places him 1000 years before Moses (and this appears to be very nearly his true date); Hermippus, who translated his books into Greek, placed him 5000 years before the siege of Troy; Eudoxus, 6000 years before the death of Plato; Xanthus of Lydia, only six centuries before Darius Hystaspes, the Achæmenian.

Modern science, following the learned labours of Eugène Burnouf and M. Spiegel on the original Zoroastrian books, acquired with so much difficulty in India by Anquetil-Duperron, now arrives at the conclusion, in which Spiegel and Oppert both agree, that though it is impossible to fix precisely the date of the founder of the religion of Dualism, it was certainly a very remote one, although far from reaching the fabulous antiquity of Hermippus and Eudoxus, and that all appearances would place him in the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth century B.C., just at the period where he was placed by Pliny.

2. We know nothing positive of the life of Zoroaster, but that he was the introducer of the religious doctrines that bear his name. His country even is unknown; but, at any rate, the district where he taught, and where his doctrine first gained success, is fixed by the concurrent testimony of the Zend Avesta, of classical writers, and of Mahometan authors. It was in Bactria, then governed by king Hystaspes (Zend, *Vistaçpa;* Persian, *Gustasp*), son of Aurvadaçpa (*Lohrasp*, in Persian writers of the middle ages), son of Kava Uçrava (Kai Khosru), son of Kava Us (Kai Kaus), son of Kava Kavata (Kai Kobad), founder of the dynasty of the Keanians. The middle-age Persian writers, giving the last echoes of the popular and entirely mythical traditions to which both Pliny and Eubulus had in former times alluded, ascribed to Zoroaster a long series of prodigies and miracles without end. When thirty years of age he received his mission from Ormuzd himself, who held converse with him in a mountain cave, to which he retired for twenty years. He then repaired to the court of Hystaspes, whom he converted by a display of his miraculous power, and before long all Bactria professed his religion, with the exception of one portion of the Arian population.

The reformer was finally killed during an invasion of the Turanians, irreconcilable enemies to the new worship, who threw themselves into Bactria, took the capital by assault, and profaned the fire temples. This legend, however, was not the only one current in ancient times. Other stories, not less authentic, invested Zoroaster with an entirely different character, making him out a sort of Moses, a political as well as a religious leader.

Trogus Pompeius, whom, unfortunately, we know only through the abbreviation of Justin, and who was, of all the classical historians, the one distinguished by the most discriminating and accurate criticism—who was also particularly happy in his choice of sources of information, and was possessed of marvellously varied erudition, said that Zoroaster himself was governor of the Bactrians (probably after the death of Hystaspes), and that he propagated his new faith by force of arms, and attempted to impose it on the other Arians by conquest.

3. The story of the life of Zoroaster is thus enveloped in darkness, which will probably always remain impenetrable, and leave to us nothing of the Iranian legislator but his work. This was great, elevated, and worthy of profound admiration. The doctrine of Zoroaster is, without doubt, the most successful effort of the unaided human mind in the direction of spiritualism and pure metaphysical truth, on which his religion was founded, by the mere force of natural reason unassisted by revelation; it is the purest, the noblest, and of all the creeds of Asia, or of the ancient world, the nearest to truth, with the exception, of course, of the Hebrew faith based on its divine revelation.

It was the reaction of the most noble instincts of the Japhetic race —of the race spiritual and philosophical beyond all others of the sons of Noah—against naturalistic pantheism, and polytheism its natural consequence, which had been gradually introduced among the Arians, and had obliterated the recollection of the primitive revelation. Thus Zoroaster, in his indignation against polytheism and idolatry, applied, by a reasoning similar to that of the Hebrew prophets and the old fathers of the Church, the names of the divine personages of the Vedic religion to evil spirits.

The gods of that religion, *Devas*, became demons; the two most important, Indra and Siva, became the ministers of the evil principle. Zoroaster, in his religious doctrine, tended to pure monotheism. He rose almost to the level of this doctrine of eternal truth; but having nothing to rely on but the unassisted powers of his own reason, having no supernatural revelation to guide him, he failed to comprehend the almost insoluble problem of the origin of evil. This was the rock on which he split, and he was driven to the unfortunate idea of dualism.

Section III.—The Religion of Zoroaster.

1. The religion propagated by the Bactrian legislator is called Mazdeism, or "Universal Knowledge." It was revealed by the "Excellent Word, pure and efficacious"—the word that Zoroaster has conveyed to men, and which is "the good law." This law was called the Zend

Avesta, Law and Reform,* for Zoroaster always represented his doctrine as a revival of what had existed among the Arians in primitive times, before the invasion and tyranny of Zohak.

The Zend-Avesta, a collection of all the writings on Mazdeism, and attributed to Zoroaster, comprised in the time of the Sassanidæ, who were most zealous professors of the Zoroastrian religion, twenty-one Naçkas, or books. The greater part of the work was lost during the severe persecutions of the professors of the ancient faith by the Moslem conquerors of Persia. One only of the books has been preserved entire; this is the Vidævadata, "the law against demons," called in Persian Vendidad.

The Yaçna and the Vispered are collections of fragments. The Vendidad, the Yaçna, and the Vispered together, constitute the collection termed Vendidad Sadé. Another collection of fragments forms the Yesht Sadé. These are all that remain of the Zoroastrian books in the original Zend text. But there still is extant a translation of a work of the same origin, treating on the creation, the Bundehesh, in the Pehlvi, the ordinary language of the greater part of Persia under the Sassanian kings.

Undoubtedly the state in which the text of the remains of the Zend Avesta has reached us is not older than the time of the Sassanidæ, when the ancient Zoroastrian law was written with a new alphabet, and was, in consequence, subjected to a transcription similar to that of the Penateuch by Ezra. This text undoubtedly shows evidences of interpolation and of alteration. But the basis and the essential parts may be attributed to the highest antiquity; this may be proved by the language employed, the Zend, the ancient idiom of Bactria—the one of the Indo-European languages nearest to the primitive form, much nearer, for instance, than the Persian of the Achæmenian cuneiform inscriptions.

These fragments are not the work of Zoroaster himself, but they are of venerable antiquity, and bear the true impress of the spirit of his doctrine. Modern criticism has almost admitted that the Gâthâs, or songs, at the end of the Yaçna, may be the production of the legislator himself, as they have an archaic character and a beautiful simplicity, not found in other fragments; and in them all the fundamental doctrines of his religion are distinctly enunciated.

2. The Zoroastrian doctrine positively rejects the idea of emanation for the origin of the world. Some passages, where there may appear

* See HAUG'S *Essays*, p. 120, and note to BUNSEN'S *Egypt's Place*, etc., 2nd Eng. ed., vol. iii., p. 474, where the name is given as more correctly *Avesta Zend*, contracted from *Avesta-u-Zend*, "Text and Comment."—TR.

to be a trace of such an opinion, are the result of a subsequent corruption of the text; and critics have been unanimous in refusing to admit them, as being contrary to the essential and original spirit of the religion. The doctrine of creation is, on the contrary, distinctly taught in very many passages, and thus a great gulf is fixed between the teaching of Zoroaster and all other ancient beliefs, as it admits no pantheistic ideas. The creation was the work of Ahura Mazda (Ormuzd), "the wise spirit," called also the holy spirit (Çpenta maynius), the good principle, represented by light, by the sun, by fire, that was called his *son;* this is the true God of the Zoroastrian religion, he whom the legislator would have believed in as One, as the Sovereign Master of all things, if the hard problem of the origin of evil had not intervened to check the fervour of his tendency to monotheism.

"I invoke, I celebrate," says the Yaçna, "Ahura Mazda, brilliant, resplendent, greatest and best. All-perfect, all-powerful, all-wise, all-beautiful, all-pure, sole source of true knowledge, of real happiness; him who hath created us, him who hath formed us, him who sustains us, the wisest of all intelligences." *

Creator of all things, Ormuzd is himself uncreated and eternal. He has had no beginning, and will have no end. He accomplished the work of creation by pronouncing the "Speech," the "Creating, pre-existing word," *Honover.*† But with regard to this very remarkable doctrine, so very nearly approaching the truth, we must quote the text of the Yaçna itself:—

"Zoroaster asked Ahura Mazda:

"'Ahura Mazda, holiest spirit, creator of all existent worlds, the truth loving! What was, O Ahura Mazda, the speech existing before the heaven, before the water, before the earth, before the cow, before the tree, before the fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, before man the truthful, before the Devas and carnivorous beasts, before the whole existing universe, before every good thing created by Ahura Mazda and springing from truth?'

"Then answered Ahura Mazda:—

'It was the All of the Word Creator, most holy Zoroaster, I will teach it thee. Existing before the heaven, before the water, before the earth,'" etc. (as before.)

"'Such is the All of the Word Creator, most holy Zoroaster, that even when neither pronounced, nor recited, it is worth one hundred other proceeding prayers, neither pronounced, nor recited, nor chanted. And he, most holy Zoroaster, who in this existing world remembers

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* Compare BLEECK's Translation, *Avesta, from Spiegel's translation by Bleeck.* London, 1864; p. 26.

† See note, p. 15.

the All of the Word Creator, utters it when remembered, chants it when uttered, celebrates when chanted, his soul will I thrice lead across the bridge to a better world, a better existence, better truth, better days.'

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"'I pronounced this speech containing the Word, and it accomplished the creation of Heaven, before the creation of the water, of the earth, of the tree, of the fourfooted beast, before the birth of the truthful, two-legged man.'"

So also the famous and ancient "prayer of one and twenty words," a form ascribed to Zoroaster himself, and which his followers had to repeat one hundred times each day, runs thus :—

"Like the Word of the Supreme Will, so also its effect is produced only because it comes from the Truth. The creation of all that is good in thought or deed in the world belongs to Mazda, and the kingdom belongs to Ahura, whose own word has made him the destroyer of the wicked."

3. This is indeed an elevated doctrine, a great reform, approaching closely to perfect truth, and tending directly to absolute monotheism. Zoroaster, however, strangely fell away from, abruptly stopped short of, the doctrine of the divine unity, which seems to be the necessary consequence of the idea of Ormuzd. The problem of the origin of evil is the most difficult of those necessarily presenting themselves to the mind that reflects on first causes, and it is one that unassisted reason cannot solve. Philosophy has always failed in the solution. The religions of the Jew and Christian alone have been guided by Divine light to find the clue. This, as we have already said, was the rock that wrecked the religion of Zoroaster.

Able to raise himself above those natural phenomena, the contemplation of which held the first place in pagan religions, and had led the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and Arians, into pantheism, and assigning the most important place to morality and metaphysics, the question of the origin and existence of evil must have presented itself to the mind of the Bactrian religious reformer as a formidable and almost insoluble problem. His aspirations were too high, too pure, to permit him to accept the monstrous solution that had resulted from the pantheistic systems of the banks of the Nile and of the Euphrates ; that which Heraclitus in later times revived among the Greek philosophers, the fundamental identity of opposites, of good and of evil, differing and opposed only in appearance. It seemed to him equally impossible that the God whom he conceived to be eternally good, pure, just and perfect, had created evil, and had himself introduced it into the world. Nothing short of the help of Divine inspiration could have enabled Zoroaster to solve this difficult problem, and this help was not given him. Left to himself, he was led astray by the remembrance of the

belief which, as we have seen, was a prominent doctrine in the early faith of the ancient Japhetic tribes—the permanently continued struggle between two rival principles, sprung from the same source, whose contests had led to the production, and ensured the duration, of the universe.

The ancient Arians had observed these struggles chiefly in physical phenomena, and not unnaturally likened them to the strife between good and evil. Zoroaster applied this idea to the moral and metaphysical arrangements of the universe, and it became the basis of his system of dualism. Together with Ormuzd, the Good God, the Good Principle, he admitted the existence of an opposing principle, against whom Ormuzd had constantly to contend to preserve his empire, a principle equal in power and like in nature to himself, the Evil Spirit —Agra Mainyus, in Persian, Ahriman. This spirit was the author of all moral and material evil, and of death.

Creation had issued from the hands of Ormuzd as pure and perfect as himself. Ahriman it was who had spoiled it by his evil influence, and day by day laboured to pervert and injure it, for he was the Destroyer (*Paurumarka*) as well as the Evil Spirit. Ahriman, like Ormuzd, had been eternal in the past, he had no beginning, and proceeded from no former being. But the moral instinct of Zoroaster could not bring itself to regard his power as eternal in the future, though this was the logical consequence of his conception. This being, who had no beginning, would come to an end. A day was to come when three prophets sprung from Zoroaster, Ukhsyad-erema, "the increasing light," Ukhsyad-ereta, "the increasing truth," and Açtvad-ereta, "existing truth," should bring into the world the three last books of the Zend Avesta, and convert all mankind to Mazdeism. Evil then should be finally conquered and destroyed, the creation should become as pure as on its first day, and Ahriman should disappear for ever.

Such is the real doctrine of Zoroaster on this point, what may be regarded as Mazdean orthodoxy. Those sects who in later times, like the Mancheists, maintained the eternity of the evil principle, in the future as well as in the past, and the indefinite prolongation of the contest between good and evil, were heretical as regards the ideas of the founder of the religion.

4. But how could it be possible to reconcile the existence of these two absolute beings, equal, similar, and co-eternal. Zoroaster seems to have avoided the examination of this new problem. To solve this, the doctrine of the Zarvanians was in later times conceived, a corruption of the primitive teaching of Zoroaster, which seems to have been promulgated about the time of Alexander, and to have been developed in the middle ages, especially after contact with the Moslems, and the

pantheistic sects of the schismatics who multiplied in Persia; a doctrine still professed by the Guebres and the Parsees of Bombay, the last adherents to the doctrines of the ancient prophet of Bactria. They supposed the existence before, and superior to, Ormuzd and Ahriman, of one great being, the source of all, "Time without limits" *Zarvan-akarana*, from whom had emanated the two principles, and into whom they were one day to be absorbed, together with all the beings who peopled the world.

This monstrous conception, which converted Mazdeism into absolute pantheism, substituted emanation for creation, and reduced Ormuzd from the position assigned him by Zoroaster, as the Great Creator of all, to that of a mere demiurgus—the organiser of a pre-existent universe; which assimilates the self-existent being, the Deity, with uncreated matter, with a chaos supposed to be eternal; which destroys all distinction in the moral government of the world between good and evil, making them both to have emanated from, and to be destined to be again absorbed into, the same divine being, making them therefore to be distinct only for a time and in appearance:—this monstrous conception we say, which from the time of its promulgation always found followers among the Mazdeists, is absolutely contrary to the very spirit of the reform of Zoroaster; no vestige of it can be discovered among the really ancient parts of the Zend Avesta, and modern science is in a position to affirm positively that it never formed a part of the teachings of the religious legislator of the Iranians.

This Zarvanian doctrine, as M. Spiegel, the Baron d'Eckstein and M. Oppert have shown, resulted from the influence, the infiltration of the notions of the gross and materialistic pantheism of Chaidæa into the Zoroastrian religion, thus revolutionised on this important point. But it must be admitted that a strange metaphysical error in the doctrine of Zoroaster afforded facilities for grafting in this foreign idea. Zoroaster does not seem to have understood that the notion of time was necessarily finite, and he was unable to separate it from eternity. The Bactrian prophet had not been able to conceive the idea of the commencement of time; hence the expression he often employs in speaking of time, that "its extension is self-created;" hence also the phrase we read in the Yaçna, "The Holy Spirit created *in time without limits*," an expression which paved the way for the doctrine of the Zarvan-akarana. Thus the Zarvanians said, "Time existed before all, its beginning cannot be conceived; in it and by it, therefore, has Ormuzd himself been produced."

5. All the secondary conceptions of Mazdeism rested on the original basis of dualism. Subordinate to both Ormuzd and Ahriman are powerful geni, created by them, not emanating from their substance, who assisted them in their good and evil works; these are veritable angels and demons, supernatural creatures, but not gods. Ormuzd

at first created six "immortal saints," *Amesaoçpentao* (in Persian, *Amshaspands*), who were—*Vohu-Mano*, "the good spirit;" *Asavahisto*, "the pure better one:" *Khsathsovairyo*, "the powerful king;" *Çpenta-armaiti*, "holy earth;" *Haurvatat*, "the universe;" and *Ameretat*, "immortality." Those who bear the names of the earth and of the universe are not themselves material creatures, but rather pure spirits, who were believed to preside over the existence and destinies of the material creation.

Beneath these higher spirits came the *Yazatas* (in Persian, *Yzeds*), spirits of a lower order, who were distributed over the universe, and employed in the preservation of its various parts. The Yazatas, like the Amshaspands, were worshipped by the Mazdeans, but not in the same way that they worshipped the Deity; worship was addressed to all beings whom they regarded as superior to man, as, for example, the stars. The adoration of these last holds but a small place in the Zend Avesta, but was largely developed under the Achæmenian Persian kings.

Below the Yazatas were placed the *Ferzers*, the pure representatives of natural objects, celestial creatures corresponding to the terrestrial, whose immortal types they were. The stars, animals, men, angels—every being, in short—had its Ferver, to whom prayers and sacrifices were offered as to an invisible protector, who watched constantly over the welfare of the being to whom it belonged. When a man died, his Ferver remained in heaven, and therefore prayers for the dead among the Mazdeists were addressed to the Fervers of the dead. Funeral rites were celebrated in their honour, and the ten last days of the year were dedicated to them. The greater and better a man became, much the more powerful was his Ferver.

With this hierarchy of heavenly spirits was contrasted an exactly similar hierarchy of evil spirits, created by Ahriman; each of these latter opposed and combated the good work, the guardian work of one of the ministers of Ormuzd. As the good principle had six Amshaspands, Ahriman opposed to them six Darvands. The first of them is *Akô-manô*, "the evil spirit;" the second, *Ander*, the Indra of the Vedas; the third, *Çaurva*, the Siva worshipped in India, subsequent to the time of the Arians of the Vedic age; the fourth, *Nasatyas*, another personage of the same sort; the fifth, *Tarik*, "darkness;" the sixth, *Zaric*, "poison."

The opponents of the Yazatas are the Devas (in Persian, *Divs*), demons, who possessed the same powers for evil that their antagonists had for good. By them the first man was led astray, and subjected to the degradation that Ormuzd desired to repair by the revelation of the Zend Avesta. The special mediator was, however, not Zoroaster, although it was through him that Ormuzd sent his revelation; the

Bactrian legislator never assumed the character of a prophet inspired by the Almighty, or pretended to a participation in the divine nature. The Mediator was Mithra, whose origin is not clearly explained in what remains of the Zoroastrian books, but who seems to have sprung from Ormuzd, and to have been consubstantial with him. Mithra had driven Ahriman, who is represented by a serpent with two legs, from heaven. Mithra was the guardian of men during life, and their judge after death. The functions of Mithra are especially enlarged on in the later books; but his name, his title, "victorious," and his high position in the Mazdean faith, unquestionably belong to the most ancient phase of this religion. And as everything was arranged in hostile pairs, Mithra had his double and adversary in the creation of Ahriman, *Mithra Daradj*, "the evil Mithra," who laboured to destroy all his beneficent work.

6. The belief in a future state of rewards and punishments is clearly expressed in the Zend Avesta, though not much in detail; probably the subject was treated at greater length in the books that have been lost. Souls that in their lifetime have yielded to the seductions of evil cannot pass the terrible bridge Chihvat, to which they were conducted on the day following the third night after their death. The good successfully passed it, conducted by the heavenly Yazatas, and entering the eternal world, join Ormuzd and the Amshaspands in their abode, where they are seated on thrones of gold. These glorified spirits became formidable enemies to the Devas.

7. The morality of Mazdeism was pure and simple; it was the business of the faithful worshipper of Ormuzd to strive against evil in all its forms. Now the occupation most favourable to the accomplishment of this vocation was that of agriculture. The priest, the warrior, and the agriculturist are the strongest supports of Mazdeism; but among all who were favoured by Ormuzd, the agriculturist was the first. "He is a holy man," says Ahura Mazda, "who has built an habitation on the earth, in which he maintains fire, cattle, his wife, his children, and flocks and herds. He who makes the earth produce barley, who cultivates the fruits of the soil, cultivates purity; he advances the law of Ahura Mazda as much as if he had offered a hundred sacrifices." The moral rules of the Zend Avesta are often of the greatest delicacy, and in it there is especially to be remarked a profound horror of lying, and an allowance of material pleasures.

But it is surprising to find in some passages great veneration expressed for some animals, especially for the cow and the dog, and great aversion to some objects, chiefly human corpses; these are not allowed either to be burned or buried, on account of the great respect felt both for fire and for the earth, they are to be abandoned to birds of prey in enclosures set apart for the purpose. This is still the custom among

the few professors of Mazdeism, who yet remain in Persia and India.

If, however, closely examined, the strangest contrasts in this religion arise from its fundamental doctrine, dividing the world between the empires of Ormuzd and Ahriman, adjudging all the various beings of creation to be either absolutely good or absolutely bad in themselves.* Useful animals, corn, pasturage, water that refreshes and quenches the thirst, fire that assists in preserving life, are held to be sacred, as the

* The ideas of the Persians of a later period as to Ahriman are admirably embodied by Sir Walter Scott in the following little poem:—

"Dark Ahriman, whom Irak still
Holds origin of woe and ill!
When, bending at thy shrine,
We view the world with troubled eye,
Where see we 'neath the extended sky,
An empire matching thine?

"If the benigner Power can yield
A fountain in the desert field,
Where weary pilgrims drink;
Thine are the waves that lash the rock,
Thine the tornado's deadly shock,
Where countless navies sink!

"Or if He bid the soil dispense
Balsams to cheer the sinking sense,
How few can they deliver
From lingering pains or pang intense,
Red fever, spotted pestilence,
The arrows of thy quiver!

"Chief in man's bosom sits thy sway,
And frequent, while in words we pray
Before another throne,
Whate'er of specious form be there,
The secret meaning of the prayer
Is, Ahriman, thine own.

"Say, hast thou feeling, sense, and form,
Thunder thy voice, thy garments storm,
As Eastern Magi say?
With sentient soul of hate and wrath,
And wings to sweep thy deadly path,
And fangs to tear thy prey?

"Or art thou mixed in Nature's source,
An ever-operating force,
Converting good to ill;
An evil principle innate,
Contending with our better fate,
And oh! victorious still?

productions of the good spirit. Noxious animals, on the other hand, are looked upon as the assistants and creatures of the evil principle.

The strangest consequence—one not perhaps formally expressed, but everywhere understood and supposed, and which has been admirably illustrated by the learned German translator and commentator of the Zend Avesta, M. Spiegel—is, that death changes, in this respect, the condition of every creature. Ahriman, in causing the death of those who have received life from Ormuzd, is the conqueror, and remains master of the body, then an impure object; and the reverse is the case when Ormuzd, or his subjects, cause the death of one of the creatures of Ahriman.

From this it follows that religious worship consisted only of prayers, offerings of Homa juice (the same plant as the Vedic Soma), and the preservation of the sacred fire. Sacrifices with bloodshed are unknown, because, though animal food was not absolutely forbidden to the Mazdeans, it could not be to them an act of piety to destroy one of the creatures of Ormuzd, and one of his enemy's they could not offer. Herodotus,* however, describes in detail sacrifices with bloodshed among the Persians of his time, and he was generally very well informed on the subject of their religion. If this practice did prevail at that period, it was a departure from the original spirit of Mazdeism, and in contradiction to the strict precepts of the Zend Avesta.

8. "The customs," says Herodotus,† "which I know the Persians to observe are the following:—they have no images of the gods, no temples nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly. This

"Howe'er it be, dispute is vain,
On all without thou hold'st thy reign,
Nor less on all within;
Each mortal passion's fierce career,
Love, hate, ambition, joy, and fear,
Thou goadest into sin.

"Whene'er a sunny gleam appears,
To brighten up our vale of tears,
Thou art not distant far;
'Mid such brief solace of our lives,
Thou whett'st our very banquet knives
To tools of death and war.

"Thus from the moment of our birth,
Long as we linger on the earth,
Thou rul'st the fates of men;
Thine are the pangs of life's last hour,
And—who dare answer?—is thy power,
Dark Spirit! ended *Then?*"

Tales of the Crusaders.—"*The Talisman.*"

* HER. i. 132. † Ibid. i. 131.

comes, I think, from their not believing the gods to have the same nature with men as the Greeks imagine." The fundamental spirit of Mazdeism was, in fact, a lively horror of idolatry.* Ormuzd is sometimes represented on the monuments of the Achæmenian kings hovering over and protecting the sovereign, exactly as the figure of Ilu, or Asshur, was drawn by the Assyrians;† but the image is not an idol to which worship was addressed, and, moreover, its employment is a departure from the strict precepts of religion, one borrowed from another worship and a foreign custom. The only representation of Ormuzd admitted within the sanctuaries by the Zend Avesta, and permitted in worship, was fire, because this was considered as perfectly pure and almost immaterial.

From this arose the adoration of the sacred fire, though the Mazdeans did not adore the fire itself, but considered it merely a representative of Ormuzd. The only temples of the Mazdean religion were the *Ateshgahs*, or fire temples, where a pile was constantly kept burning, carefully attended, and surrounded by priests divided into two classes, Mobeds and Herbeds, who performed there liturgic services. Some Zoroastrian monuments represent the figure of Ormuzd appearing in the midst of the flame.

9. The books of the Zend Avesta contain very curious traditions as to the first origin of all things, remarkable for their precision and for their agreement with the Biblical narrative. Zoroaster, like Moses, divides the creation of the visible universe into six periods. Ormuzd, with the aid of the Amshaspands, brought all things out of nothing. This is the story as given in one of the remaining fragments:—"In forty-five days I, Ormuzd, with the Amshaspands, have worked well; I have made the heavens. I then celebrated the *Gahanbar*, and gave it the name of *Gah-Mediozerem*." Each gahanbar is a "gathering of time," an epoch. Ormuzd continues—"I celebrated *Mediosherem* (the second epoch). In sixty-five days I, Ormuzd, have worked well; I made the water, and then celebrated the gahanbar, and gave it the name of *Gah-Medioshem*." And then follows in the same poem, and with a similar formula, an account of the four other epochs. "In seventy-five days I, Ormuzd, have worked well; I have made the earth." This is the *Gah-Peteshem*. "In thirty days I, Ormuzd, have worked well; I have made the trees." This is the *Gah-Eiathrem*. "In eighty days I, Ormuzd, have worked well; I have made the animals." This is the

* This was the distinct issue raised by the Greeks after the retreat of Xerxes, when Mardonius despatched his ambassador to the Athenians. Their reply was—"So long as the sun keeps his present course we will never join alliance with Xerxes. Nay, we shall oppose him unceasingly, *trusting in the aid of those gods and heroes whom he has lightly esteemed, whose houses and whose images he has burnt with fire.*" HER. viii. 143.

† See Vol. i., p. 453.

Gah-Mediareh. "In seventy-five days I, Ormuzd, have worked well; I have made man." This is the *Gah-Hamespthmedem.* A festival was appropriated to each of these epochs, and the last was that of the "long sacrifice, of the perpetual sacrifice."

We have already said that the Zoroastrian religion expressly taught the doctrine of the fall of man caused by the temptations of the evil spirit.* The Bundehesh thus relates the fall of our first parents:—"Ormuzd speaks of Meshia and Meshiana (the first man and woman); man was, the father of the world was. Heaven was his destiny, on condition that he should be humble of heart, that he should do the work of the law, that he should be pure in his thoughts, pure in his words, pure in his actions, and that he should not invoke the Devs. At first they said these words, 'Ormuzd has given us water, the earth, the trees, animals, the stars, the moon, the sun, and all good things that come from a pure root and bear pure fruit.' Then the Lie entered their thoughts, altered their dispositions, and said to them, 'It is Ahriman who has given water, the earth, the trees, animals, and all that has been mentioned.' Thus it was that in the beginning Ahriman deceived them with regard to the Devs, and to the end this evil one has sought only to seduce them. By believing this lie they both became Darvands, and their souls will be in the infernal regions until the resurrection of the body. The Dev who told this lie became more bold, presented himself a second time, and brought them fruits, which they ate, and, in consequence, of all the innumerable advantages they enjoyed there remained only one."

The Bundehesh records also the tradition of the Deluge. To chastise the crimes of mankind, and especially of the abominable race of the Kharfesters, or wicked beings *par excellence*, Tashter, the Creator Spirit, and the Yzeds caused it to rain so much that the earth was covered with water up to the height of a man. All the Kharfesters died in this terrible deluge.

Section IV.—Separation of the Arians.

1. A religious reform so thorough and important as that of Zoroaster could not be effected without considerable resistance. Thus the Oriental histories of the life of the legislator and the testimony of classical historians agree in saying that his religious doctrine met with determined opposition from a part of the Arians, which culminated in severe struggles and religious wars. But whence came this resistance? The Iranians seem to have very early adopted all the principles of Mazdeism, which were probably in accordance with their natural ten-

* Vol. i. p. 10.

dencies; moreover, the reformer sprang from among themselves, and this was one strong reason why they should rally round him. His opponents were probably found among the tribes who conquered India, tribes among whose priests the germs of the pantheistic tendencies that gave rise to Brahmanism had already appeared. In fact, we believe that it may be established by a number of decisive proofs, that the reforms and preaching of Zoroaster were anterior to the great emigration by which the two great branches of the Arians, up to that time living in the same country, were separated, and each took their own route, one westward, the other eastward, in search of new habitations.

When, on the one hand, the Persian legends about Zoroaster, which are certainly at any rate partly historical, represent his chief and most persistent enemies as priests of Indo-Arian tribes, called Brahmans, by an anachronism easily understood and rectified; and when on the other, we find the hymns of the Rig Veda pouring maledictions on Djaradashti, or Zoroaster, and calling him the enemy of the gods, we are led to the opinion sustained by competent scholars, that the schism caused by the Zoroastrian reforms, and the religious quarrels that ensued, were the proximate cause of the final separation of the Arian tribes into Iranians and Indians, and of their migration in such opposite directions. This view is moreover generally admitted now, even by Max Müller, who, however, does not admit the identification of the Djaradashti of the Vedas with Zoroaster, as asserted by Westergaard, Haug, and Oppert.

2. The tribes faithful to the Vedic religion, and hostile to the reforms of Zoroaster, seem to have had the worst in the struggle that took place on these questions of doctrine and worship. They were, in fact, compelled to evacuate Bactria, the original habitation of their race, which remained in the exclusive possession of their adversaries, and to retreat in a body to the other side of the Hindoo Koosh, which some of them had already passed, on the side of Attock, to occupy the country to which they gave the name of Aria. Thence they advanced towards the south-east, and successively occupied Paropanisus, Drangiana, and Arachosia, and penetrated into the northern part of the valley of the Indus, whence their dominion, after contests lasting 1000 years against the Hamite populations, extended in the end over the whole of the Indian peninsula.

From that time, separated by the steep mountains of the Hindoo Koosh, the deserts of Carmania, and the inhospitable wastes of Gedrosia, the two sections of the Arian race did not for many ages come into contact; in this relative isolation the differences in the peculiar characteristics of the races in their religion, and in their languages, constantly tended to a wider separation.

3. The Iranians, followers of Zoroaster, occupied Bactria, Sogdiana, and Margiana, where one part of their tribes remained; others, com-

pelled to emigrate by the increase of population, directed their course to the southwest, crossed Hyrcania, and invading Media, Susiana, and Persia, drove away without difficulty the primitive Cushite inhabitants, described in the Iranian legends as black men with short, woolly hair, and entered the fertile part of Carmania, where the city of Yezd became one of the principal centres of Mazdean worship. They even, in the first rush of their emigration, pushed on further, and as we have already seen,* they descended the Tigro-Euphrates valley, about 2,400 years B.C., and possessed themselves of Babylon, where an Arian dynasty reigned for 224 years.

4. The Vendidad Sadé has preserved, in its first chapter, a document of great antiquity and of great interest on the subject of these first migrations of the Western Arians. This is a list of the countries successively occupied by the Iranians on their way to Persia; in each of these lands a new obstacle is raised up by Ahriman to compel the worshippers of Ormuzd to seek a new abode. Under this mythological and legendary form we may follow, step by step, the extension of the domains of the race, who left colonies behind them in all the countries they traversed, whilst the main body still constantly advanced to the west. The starting point was the Aryanem Vaedjo, that is, as we have already established in the first Book of this work,† the plateau of Pamir; the cause of suffering that drove the Iranians thence, was the cold that became insupportable, "as there were there ten months winter and two mouths only of summer." Their second place of sojourn was the land of Sughdha, that is, Sogdiana; and the evil that Ahriman raised up there, was an epizootic disease, which raged among the flocks and herds of the Iranians, who were still shepherds. The Mazdean worship was organized there, and therefore the land was called *Gan*, that is, "the sanctuary of fire," and in later times the words Sogd and Paradise became synonymous to the Zoroastrians of Persia. Their third halting place was the land of Muru, the Margiana of the classical geographers, and its capital city is still called Merv. Ahriman there stirred up "wars and robberies," evidently on the part of the Turyas, whose tribes bordered on this territory. The fourth stage was the fertile land of Bakhdi, Bactria proper, "the land of high banners," that is the seat of royalty; this happy dwelling became ere long infested with insects and poisonous plants. The fifth place of sojourn was the land of Nisaya, the Nisæa of the classical geographers, in the north of Parthia, and there the evil spirit raised up "unbelief."

This is the first indication we find in the text of the religious quarrels that brought about the schism among the Arians. The sixth halting place was the land of Haroyu, "rich in waters"; this is the Aria of the

* Vol. i. p. 351. † Vol. i. p. 21.

Greeks, the country where now is the city of Herat; Ahriman there caused hail and famine. Their seventh stage was Vaekereta, where Daghaka is situated, and here the Book of Kings places the birth of Rustem, the great Iranian Hero, for the town of Dushak is the capital of Seistan. Fresh religious troubles, more serious than before, are said to have broken out here. The eighth station was the land of Urva, which is believed to be Cabul; the Iranians were here exposed to the devastations of the barbarous tribes of the neighbourhood. The ninth place of sojourn was Khnenta, where Vehrkana was situated, that is the country of Kandahar, where was the city of Urgundub; Ahriman there introduced unnatural crimes, so severely punished by the law of Zoroaster. Their tenth abode was the fertile region of Harakaiti, Arachosia; Ahriman there introduced, among part of the people, the impious custom of burying their dead.

We find here a new trace of religious dissensions, and this on one of the most essential points that divided the Indians and the Mazdeans. Arachosia must be, moreover, the scene of the final schism between the two branches of the Eastern Arians, for from thence the tribes who rebelled against Zoroastrianism passed into the basin of the Indus, which was separated from them only by a chain of mountains. The Vendidad Sadé now follows the steps of the Iranians, who henceforth remain alone. But after having conducted them to their entry into Persia, it ends by a description of the march of the Indian Arians into the Hapta Hindu, the Sapta Sindhu of the Vedas, "the land of the seven rivers," the present Punjaub, and then to the borders of the ocean, at the mouth of the Indus.

Their eleventh halting place was Hætumat, the country watered by the river Hilmend, the Etymander of the classical geographers; Ahriman there gave rise to "crimes of magic." The Iranians, as we see, have resumed their march westward. Their twelfth abode was the land of Ragha, that is the north of Media, where all ancient geographers place the city of Rhages, now Rey, near Teheran; the text here mentions the appearance of fresh infidels, evidently referring to the alterations which the doctrine of Zoroaster underwent in Media, as we shall see in the succeeding chapter. The thirteenth halting place was the land of Kakhra, apparently the Khorassan of our days, here Ahriman introduced the abominable custom of burning the dead. The fourteenth halt was made in the district of Varena, near the mountain now called Demayend, south of the Caspian Sea, and here Ahriman made them suffer from the ravages of the Turanian tribes, and inflicted sickness on their women. There was born Thrætana (the Feridun of the middle age Persian traditions), the slayer of the noxious serpent, Afrasiab, and this immediately preceded their entry into the land of Iran, properly so called, or Persia.

CHAPTER III.

THE MEDES AND THEIR EMPIRE.

Chief Authorities.

Classical Writers:—Herodotus, Book I.—Diodorus Siculus, Book II., Eusebius, *Chronicles*, Book I. Chap. xv.

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Works of Modern Scholars on the Median Language and Writing:—Westergaard, in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Nord*, 1844; Hincks, *On the First and Second Kinds of Persepolitan Writing*, Dublin, 1846; De Saulcy, *Recherches Analytiques sur les Inscriptions Cunéiformes du Système Médique*, Paris, 1850; Norris, *Memoir on the Scythic Version of the Behistan Inscription*, London, 1853; Ménant, *Les Ecritures Cunéiformes*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1864.

SECTION I.—THE ARIAN AND TURANIAN MEDES.

MAGISM.

1. IN Persia proper, and in Carmania, which was only a dependency of the former from the time of the first establishment of the Japhetic tribes there, the Iranians encountered no serious resistance from the primitive population, and remained masters of the country without being disturbed by any opposition of importance. It was not the same in Media. There the Arian tribes had been preceded, as we have already seen, by the Turanians, their constant enemies, from whose language the country took its name. These Turanian tribes in Media formed a numerous and compact population, whom the Iranians were unable to expel, and merely lived as conquerors among them. In such circumstances the ancient national enmity between the Arians and the Turanians would necessarily become more violent than ever.

At its first commencement in the North, this struggle became a religious war, the Zoroastrian doctrines, believed in by the Iranian invaders of Media, rendered this still more inevitable, and still more embittered the strife; the serpent Afrasiab was too like Ahriman for anything but implacable hatred to exist between him and Ormuzd; that eternal struggle between the two principles, which Zoroaster had seen in the moral world, and on which he had based his religion, was thus transported into the domain of real historical facts.

2. Crushed beneath the first rush of Arian conquest, the Turanians of Media nevertheless recovered after a while, and resisted those who attempted to rule over them. The struggle, incessantly renewed, between the Iranians and the Turanians in this country, where the two hostile elements were so evenly balanced that neither could drive out the other, lasted more than ten centuries, with great vicissitudes of fortune. Unfortunately we have no positive history of the period, but the story, though mixed with fables and poetic fictions, has been preserved very clearly in the popular Persian traditions, so admirably versified by Firdusi in his Book of Kings. This was the epoch of the greatest and most celebrated wars of the Iranians and Turanians; and tradition almost universally lays in Media itself the scene of the most brilliant episodes of this unending struggle.

These were the days of the stirring but fabulous exploits of Rustem, of Kai Khosru, and Farrukhzad, and of all the legendary Iranian heroes. On many occasions Afrasiab gained the advantage over the Iranian warriors, and seemed about to destroy them; constantly, however, after more or less vicissitudes, with more or less difficulty, he was in the end subdued; again and again he renewed the fight; and when he was thought to be completely and finally crushed, he once more raised his head.

When the warriors of Adherbaidjan, and Irak Adjemy are no longer able to continue unaided the contest with the servants of Afrasiab and to make head against them, they called for help on the heroes of Farsistan, such as Rustem; and these again crown with victory the arms of Iran. In all this there must be a nucleus of historical truth; more than once when the Iranians of Media were unsuccessful in arms, and on the point of being finally crushed by the Turanians, they must have called to their help, and to the defence, both of their nationality and faith, their brethren, the Iranians of Persia. The popular legend shows that at the close of these prolonged struggles the Iranians triumphed over the Turanians, and obtained the supremacy, without entirely destroying them. This in fact was the end of the war of races in Media; the Iranians did not succeed in destroying the national life of the Turanian populations who had preceded them, but forcibly imposed themselves on them as a conquering and dominant aristocracy.

3. When, about the tenth century B.C., Media began to take her place among the nations of the world in history, in consequence of the conquests of the Ninevite kings, we find the people divided into six classes, arranged in order of dignity, if not already formed into castes. Herodotus* has preserved their names as Magi, Arizanti, Busæ, Struchates, Budii, and Paretaceni. The first four correspond exactly to the classes

* HER. [i. 101.] gives these tribes in geographical order as Busæ,

in the Arian society of the Vedic age, and to those of the Persians as given by Herodotus*—those of Priests, Warriors, Agriculturalists, and Shepherds. Their names are purely Arian; the first is the Persian *Magus*, the Sanscrit *Magha*, and means "the great ones"; the second is easily restored to its original form of *Ariazantus*, the men of Arian race; in the third we may recognise the Persian *buza*, Sanscrit *bhudja*, "natives"; and the fourth is the Persian *tchatrauvat*, "dwellers in tents." The two last classes were quite inferior and despised, they were serfs belonging to the soil, and nomads; Budii is evidently the Persian *Budiya*, (*adscripti glebæ*), and Paretaceni, the Persian *Paraitaka*, "nomads." The Behistun inscription in its Assyrian text, speaks of the "Medes who have no fixed habitations" as being despicable rebels, undoubtedly referring to these last.

From the very name of Arizanti it follows that these inferior races were not like them, Arians; and the name of the agricultural serfs shows that they belonged to another race whom the Medes found in the country, and whom they considered as natives. In fact the two superior classes, Priests and Warriors alone were Iranians; they spoke amongst themselves, as Strabo informs us, the same language as did the Persians, Bactrians and Sogdianians: and this idiom must have been in Media a sort of aristocratic language, like the Chaldæo-Turanian at Babylon, and also like French among the Russians of the present day.

But the mass of the people, the agricultural, pastoral and industrial classes remained purely Turanian, and retained their old Ugro-Finnish language, the real language of the country, and so largely predominant that in later times the Persian kings themselves, though the representatives of the Iranian supremacy, admitted it into the number of the officially recognised languages of their chanceries for the Median provinces.

This is the language, undoubtedly belonging to the Turkish group, which has been reconstructed by the labours of Westergaard, De Saulcy and Norris. A large number of inscriptions have been preserved in this tongue, all that are known at present belonging to the time of the Achæmenian kings of Persia. It was written in a peculiar form of the Anarian cuneiform syllabic character, to be seen in the table in Book iv. p. 436 [Vol. i.].

4. With such a mixed population of two absolutely different origins, as was established in Media, after religious wars, and wars of races, lasting for so many centuries, it was impossible that the Zoroastrian

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Paretaceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budii, and Magi; in the text they are arranged in the order of their relative rank and importance.

* HER. i. 125.

faith which had been brought with them by the Iranian tribes could be preserved free from all alteration and admixture; and in fact we find that the religious system of the Medes was quite different from that of the Persians.

The Median religion was Magism, so called because the class of Magi supplied the priests. The name of Magism is very commonly applied to the Zoroastrian religion; and this is due to a misunderstanding which first arose with the Greek authors, commencing with Herodotus who had travelled in Media, and not in Persia properly so called; but it is entirely erroneous. All ancient historians agree that Cyrus, when he revolted against the Medes and subjected them to the Persians, re-established the religion of Zoroaster, from which the faith of the Medes differed; and, unlike that of the Persians, was no longer pure Mazdeism.

Darius, son of Hystaspes, who must have been much better acquainted with these things than Herodotus, distinctly states in the annals of his reign, engraven on the rocks at Behistun, that the Magi under Gomates, the false Smerdis, who had for the moment gained the mastery over the Persian empire, had begun to substitute their religion for that of the Iranian nation; and that he, Darius, on his accession, overturned their temples and altars. In no one document really Zoroastrian, and of Persian or Bactrian origin, is there mention of the Magi as ministers of religion.* Lastly, we have already shown† that the first chapter of the Vendidad Sadé places the origin of serious heresies in the Zoroastrian religion, one of them the custom of burning dead bodies, in the land of Ragha and Kakhra, that is in Media.

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* *Mobed*, a name used in the Persian inscriptions for high priest, is, however, derived from *Magupaiti*, "Chief of the Magi," and not, as in the French edition the author has concurred with Spiegel in believing, from *Nmanopaiti*. This seems to be proved by the inscription from Naksh i Radjab, published by Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, plate cxc. Referring to the defeat of Valerian by Sapor, Ormuzd says, *Shahpuhri malkan malka Kisar Rum magupat u aiharpat Rum karti humanam*— "I have made Sapor king of kings, the Cæsar of Rome, the Mobed and Herbed of Rome," *i.e.*, *Pontifex maximus* (compare Haug, *Sitzungberichten*, 1869).

Magupat, the Pehlvi form of the Zend *Magupaiti*, and the origin of the modern *Mobed*, still retained at the time of this inscription the sense of high priest, though in later times used for priest merely.

Magupaiti was evidently the Median, as *Aethrapaiti*, (whence came *aiharpat* and *herbed*,) was the Persian title. The Achæmenian kings assumed both; and in later times, under the Sassanidæ, they were indiscriminately applied to the priests of the pure Mazdean faith, as it had then been forgotten that the Median faith and priests had been schismatical and heretical.

† Page 40.

Very many valuable indications enable us to form an idea of what was the religious system of Magism. It was based on the dualism of Zoroaster; but with the intention of conciliating the opposite principles of the two constituent parts of the population, the Magi attempted to combine the worship of Ormuzd with that of Ahriman, with whom they very naturally identified the serpent Afrasiab, the god of the tribes of Turanian origin. Undoubtedly, being the first to hold the doctrines of the Zarvanians, they considered these two opposing principles as consubstantial; and as emanations, both of them, from one sole pre-existent principle; they considered them, at any rate, as did in later times the professors of the doctrine of Manes, as eternally equal in power, in the future as in the past, and that their antagonism, more apparent than real, would be unending.

In Persia, Ormuzd alone was adored, and Ahriman held up to execration. In Media, the good and the evil principle, Ormuzd and Ahriman, or more exactly, when speaking of the latter country, Afrasiab, were both adored at the altars. And, as was natural, the Turanian population was more inclined to worship their ancient national god than the deity of their Arian conquerors; and, therefore, in the popular worship Ahriman, or Afrasiab, took precedence of Ormuzd; just as it may be remarked that among the ancient Finnish people, as among the Tartars of our days, the Turanian race manifests a decided tendency—one characteristic of their instincts—to worship chiefly, with a sentiment of superstitious terror, the powers whom they regard as infernal, dark, and malevolent.

From this point of view, we believe M. Oppert to have been right in recognising the remains of Magism of the ancient Medes, especially in its Turanian development, in the strange religion of the Yezidis, or "devil worshippers," who are still to be met with in Irak Adjemi, and in the north of Mesopotamia. They profess the dualism of Mazdeism, but worship only the evil principle, because, they say, "worship has no other object but to appease the divine power; and that the good principle, perfectly good, indulgent, and kind, has no need to be appeased." *

But this was not the only important point on which Median Magism imported into Zoroastrianism doctrines which entirely reversed its principles. It is certain, proved by evidence we have not space to introduce here, that the Magi, like the Persians themselves after the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon, that famous corrupter of their religion, had forcibly introduced the worship of the Babylonian Anaitis, and had attempted to combine Mazdean dualism with the polytheism of the

* See the valuable information on this subject in LAYARD'S *Nineveh and Babylon.*

Chaldæo-Assyrians, whose dominions bordered on their empire. They introduced the worship of all the gods, placing them merely in an inferior rank in the scale of their conceptions, below Ormuzd and below the Amshaspands; the worship of the seven planets, too, under its precise Chaldæan form, was largely developed among them.

But of all the divine personages whom they borrowed from the Assyrians, the one who held the highest rank was the great nature goddess, Mylitta, or Anaitis, who was identical with the "mother of the gods" in Phrygia, and with the Astarte of the Phœnicians. We require no further proof of this than the large and very curious religious bas-reliefs sculptured on the rocks at Maltai, on the frontier of Media and Assyria, and those at Yasili-Kaia, at the extreme limit of the Median Empire in Asia Minor—bas-reliefs, both evidently the work of the same people, and which we do not hesitate to attribute to the Medes.

The celebrated passage in Herodotus, in which he likens Mithra to the Asiatic Venus,* entirely wrong if referred to Persia and to pure Zoroastrianism, may, perhaps, be correct if applied to the religion of Media; it would then explain how the Magi made the worship of Mylitta, or Anaitis, agree with what portion of the Zoroastrian doctrine they had still preserved, by supposing the mediator emanating from Ormuzd to be a female, or rather androgynous being, according to the light in which it was viewed, either Mithra or Mylitta. The sense in which the word "Magic" has been taken seems also to show that the Magi were specially addicted to the practices of sorcery and incantations, so particularly forbidden by the Zoroastrian religion. The first chapter of the Vendidad Sadé places the origin of these practices of sorcery among the Iranians in the land of Hætumat, on the borders of Hilmend; and this part of Carmania is always mentioned, as well as Media, as the land of the Magi.

5. When the dynasty of Belkatirassu built up the great territorial power of Nineveh, Media was one of the first countries conquered. We have no statements on the monuments to determine positively and precisely the date of this conquest; but, as we have already seen, it must have taken place in the course of the tenth century B.C., before the reign of Asshurnazirpal; and we have also seen that it was the policy of the Assyrians to rely chiefly in that country on the Turanian element, as being more docile, more disposed by nature to submit cheerfully to the system of absolute government prescribed by that policy.

The Ninevite kings, therefore, always assisted in Media in securing the preponderance of the Turanian element, and employing it to neu-

* HER. i. 131, 199.

tralise the power of the Arian race, whose instincts of independence, and almost republican liberty, did not dispose them to submit easily to such government, and who were, therefore, always ready to rebel. The successors of Zohak were necessarily the natural allies of Afrasiab. But then, just as the weight of the Assyrian yoke was the more heavily felt, and became odious to the entire population without distinction of race, an irresistibly powerful reaction was produced in favour of the Iranian element, in which was personified resistance to foreign dominion and the spirit of national independence. In systematically warring against the Iranian aristocracy of Media, the Assyrians only contributed to bring about an alliance between the two elements, hostile for so many centuries, of the population of that country. When the Medes struck the first blow at the Ninevite power, the initiative in this great movement was taken by the Arian portion of the population. Arbaces, as his name alone would show, was of pure Arian race, and it was at the head of the warriors of the tribe of the Arizanti that he advanced to besiege Sardanapalus in his capital.

SECTION II.—ARBACES AND THE ARIAN REPUBLIC IN MEDIA. 788—710 B.C.

1. WE have already related, in our Book on Assyrian History,* the combined revolt of the Mede Arbaces, the Chaldæan Phul-Balazu, and the Susianian Shutruk-nakhunta, in the year 788 B.C., the capture of Nineveh, and the death of Sardanapalus, and there is, therefore, no need to repeat the story here. Nineveh destroyed, and the hatred of his people gratified, Arbaces retired to the country he had freed by his valour, leaving Phul in possession of Assyria. He died there twenty-eight years after, in 764, having ruled over Media to the time of his death.

2. Arbaces was not really a king, especially in the sense in which all Asiatics understand that word, but rather the sole military chief of a nation with a republican government. After his death the Medes retained the same republican institutions, but were parcelled out, as it were, into small districts, there being no one of sufficient renown, power, or consideration to bind them together by the common tie of one central power. For many ages this was the normal condition of all the Iranians, among whom the tribal system, so well suited to their mode of life—warlike, pastoral, and agricultural, but not industrial—existed in all its completeness, and formed the basis of their social

* Vol. i p. 385.

organisation. The families grouped themselves into tribes, and again into communities; the communities into more extended districts, governed by a chief whose power was always limited by parliamentary forms, sometimes by a popular assembly.

Such was the nature of the republican organisation of the Medes for fifty years after the death of Arbaces. The nation was in a state of complete disorganisation; each of these districts was completely isolated from the others, content with its local liberties. It was only on rare occasions, in the presence of a danger menacing the common independence, that the sentiment of nationality and of union between the different tribes was aroused; one supreme chief was then elected a sort of dictator, whose power was only temporary. Such was Aspabara, whom Sargon, king of Assyria, fought against in the first year of his reign (720), and whose name, under the recognisable form of Astibaras, occurs, but in a place chronologically wrong, in the list of Median kings given by Diodorus Siculus from Ctesias.

This list, moreover, though it cannot be accepted as the Cnidian historian gives it, as the list of kings of all Media, does not seem to be a mere fiction. The names it contains are purely Iranian; Mandauces, Sosarmus, Artycas, Arbianes, Artæus, Artynes, Astibaras, conqueror of the Sacæ, that is of the Turanian tribes, and Aspadas, must have been local chiefs, who governed some part or other of the country, and whose names tradition has preserved. The state of the land, divided between different local chiefs, is clearly indicated in the perfectly historical narrative which Ctesias gives of the quarrel (changed in other writers into a mythical legend) between Artæus and Parsondas, a chief of Persian race, who held a part of the country, and who, being compelled to take refuge among the Cadusians of Atropatene, gave occasion for a war between them and the Medes.

The list of the Median kings between Arbaces and Deioces, borrowed by Eusebius from Cephalion, is of the same character as that of Ctesias, but it includes fewer names, and seems to be a continuous list of the chiefs who succeeded each other in one part of the country. They were probably those of the district where in later times Ecbatana was built, the predecessors or ancestors of Deioces. Their names were Mandauces, Sosarmus, and Artycas, the first three in the list of Ctesias, where the remainder seem to have been chiefs of another district.

3. If this tribal government could fully satisfy the local spirit of liberty and of individual independence, and was suited to the conditions of a nation who, like the Persians, had no serious danger to apprehend from without, it could not but be highly dangerous to a nation situated as were the Medes. In fact, the Assyrians close at their gates, rapidly recovering from the effects of their disaster, had again built up a military power more formidable than ever, and had

again entered the road of conquest. They aspired to the dominion of all the lands they had ever possessed, and especially desired to crush those formerly subject states whose coalition had brought about the ruin of Nineveh. So, taking advantage of the want of unity, and of the divisions between the various districts which existed in Media, Shalmaneser VI. and Sargon re-conquered step by step the greater part of Media, especially the northern part, in the neighbourhood of Rhagæ, beyond which also they made themselves masters of Parthia. The country that had been freed by Arbaces seemed for the moment about to fall again entirely under the Assyrian yoke, when the imminence of the danger and the feeling of the necessity for common defence compelled the Medes to renounce their tribal government, and to form themselves into one compact state with a monarchical government.

SECTION III.—DEIOCES—ESTABLISHMENT OF ROYALTY AMONG THE MEDES (710—657).

"THERE was a certain Mede," says Herodotus,* "named Deioces, son of Phraortes, a man of much wisdom, who had conceived the desire of obtaining to himself the sovereign power. In furtherance of his ambition, therefore, he formed and carried into execution the following scheme:—As the Medes at that time dwelt in scattered villages, without any central authority, and lawlessness in consequence prevailed throughout the land, Deioces, who was already a man of mark in his own village, applied himself with greater zeal and earnestness than ever before to the practice of justice among his fellows. It was his conviction that justice and injustice are engaged in perpetual war with one another. He therefore began this course of conduct, and presently the men of his village, observing his integrity, chose him to be the arbiter of all their disputes. Bent on obtaining the sovereign power, he showed himself an honest and an upright judge, and by these means gained such credit with his fellow-citizens as to attract the attention of those who lived in the surrounding villages. They had long been suffering from unjust and oppressive judgments, so that when they heard of the singular uprightness of Deioces, and of the equity of his decisions, they joyfully had recourse to him in the various quarrels and suits that arose, until at last they came to put confidence in no one else.

"The number of complaints brought before him continually increasing, as people learnt more and more the fairness of his judgments, Deioces, feeling himself now all-important, announced that he did not

* HER. i. 96, 97, 98, 99.

intend any longer to hear causes, and appeared no more in the seat in which he had been accustomed to sit and administer justice. 'It did not square with his interests,' he said, 'to spend the whole day in regulating other men's affairs to the neglect of his own.' Hereupon robbery and lawlessness broke out afresh, and prevailed through the country even more than heretofore; wherefore the Medes assembled from all quarters, and held a consultation on the state of affairs. The speakers, as I think, were chiefly friends of Deioces. 'We cannot possibly,' they said, 'go on living in this country if things continue as they now are; let us therefore set a king over us, that so the land may be well governed, and we ourselves may be able to attend to our own affairs, and not be forced to quit our country on account of anarchy.' The assembly was persuaded by these arguments, and resolved to appoint a king.

"It followed to determine who should be chosen to the office. When this debate began, the claims of Deioces and his praises were at once in every mouth, so that presently all agreed that he should be king. Upon this he required a palace to be built for him suitable to his rank, and a guard to be given him for his person. The Medes complied, and built him a strong and large palace on a spot which he himself pointed out, and likewise gave him liberty to choose himself a body-guard from the whole nation. Thus settled upon the throne, he further required them to build a single great city, and disregarding the petty towns in which they had formerly dwelt, make the new capital the object of their chief attention. The Medes were again obedient, and built the city now called Agbatana, the walls of which are of great size and strength, rising in circles one within the other. The plan of the place is, that each of the walls should out-top the one beyond it by the battlements. The nature of the ground, which is a gentle hill, favours this arrangement in some degree, but it was mainly effected by art. The number of the circles is seven, the royal palace and the treasures standing within the last. The circuit of the outer wall is very nearly the same with that of Athens. Of this wall the battlements are white, of the next black, of the third scarlet, of the fourth blue, of the fifth orange; all these are coloured with paint. The last two have their battlements coated respectively with silver and gold."

This passage is alone sufficient to prove the importance of the worship of the seven planets in the Median religion. The colours here enumerated are the colours sacred to the five planets, to the sun and to the moon, arranged in the same order as in the stages of the Zikurat of the palace at Khorsabad; and these seven walls, each inner one being higher than the one outside, must have presented much the same appearance.

"All these fortifications Deioces caused to be raised for himself and

his own palace. The people were required to build their dwellings outside the circuit of the walls. When the town was finished, he proceeded to arrange the ceremonial. He allowed no one to have direct access to the person of the king, but made all communication pass through the hands of messengers, and forbade the king to be seen by his subjects. He also made it an offence for any one whatsoever to laugh or spit in the royal presence. This ceremonial, of which he was the first inventor, Deioces established for his own security, fearing that his compeers, who were brought up together with him, and were of as good family as he, and no whit inferior to him in manly qualities, if they saw him frequently, would be pained at the sight, and would therefore be likely to conspire against him; whereas, if they did not see him, they would think him quite a different sort of being from themselves.

"After completing these arrangements, and firmly settling himself upon the throne, Deioces continued to administer justice with the same strictness as before. Causes were stated in writing and sent in to the king, who passed his judgment upon the contents, and transmitted his decisions to the parties concerned; besides which he had spies and eavesdroppers in all parts of his dominions; and if he heard of any act of oppression, he sent for the guilty party, and awarded him the punishment meet for his offence."

Deioces, proclaimed king in 710, at the time of the most brilliant conquests of Sargon, when the Assyrian power seemed likely to swallow up all around it, did not live to see the commencement of the decline of that power. He completed the constitution of the Medes as a nation, joining all the tribes into one compact body. After a reign of fifty-three years, he died in 657, whilst Asshurbanipal was still on the throne at Nineveh, leaving a well-consolidated government to his son Phraortes (Fravartis).

Section IV.—Phraortes and Cyaxares—Great Development of the Power of the Median Empire (657—595).

1. Deioces seems to have reigned peaceably, and to have devoted himself to the internal organisation of the Median nation, that he might render it fit for high destinies. Phraortes (657—635) was a conqueror. We know nothing positive of the first seven years of his reign, but they must have been occupied in driving the Assyrians from the portions of Media which they had occupied since the time of Sargon; for at the time of the termination of the foreign conquests of that prince, we find that he was incontestably master of the whole of Media, although great part of the country was under foreign rule in the time of Deioces.

The great campaigns of Phraortes commenced in 650, and his arms were at first directed to the East. He commenced by subjecting Persia to his sceptre; that country, long divided into tribes with no federal connection, had commenced the formation of a united kingdom about the time that Media, under Arbaces, shook off the Assyrian yoke. To this first Persian monarchy belonged the satraps Sitraphernes and Hyphernes, who were conquered and made prisoners by Esarhaddon. Five kings were reckoned, whose names we do not know, previous to Achæmenes (Hakhamanish, "the friendly"), who was the last independent king, and being conquered by Phraortes, was obliged to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Medes. From him were descended Cyrus and the line of Persian kings called Achæmenian.

But the conquests of the Median king in that direction did not stop there; in a few years he reduced to obedience all the nations, for the most part Iranian, on this side of the Hindoo Koosh and the deserts of Carmania. Ctesias expressly states that the Parthians, a people of Scythic or Turanian origin, were subjugated by the grandfather of Astyages, that is, Phraortes, whose name, however, he completely disguises. From the time of the reign of the same prince, we also find Bactria, with its dependencies, Hyrcania, Margiana, and Sogdiana, under the rule of the Median king. On the other side of Media, to the west, the Arian nation of the Armenians who had been in alliance with the Medes since the time of Arbaces (to whose assistance the Armenian king Baruir marched in the war against Nineveh), were compelled also to acknowledge the suzerainty of Phraortes, and, probably as the reward of this submission, had his country freed from the Assyrians who partly occupied it, and who, under Sargon and Sennacherib, had penetrated as far as Van, and even to the chain of Ararat.

Having subjugated all these nations, and thus erected the Median monarchy into a vast military empire, Phraortes thought himself in a position to undertake again the work of Arbaces, and to attempt the destruction of Nineveh, once more raised by Sennacherib from its ruins, and to subject Assyria to his sceptre. The Assyrians, though enervated by long-continued success, though their empire was fast falling into decay, and their conquests were one by one escaping from their hands, were still a warlike people. The Median invasion stimulated their courage, and produced an energy that shed lustre on the name of Asshur-edililani III. A vigorous resistance was made, and in a great battle Phraortes and the flower of his army fell (635.)

2. His son Cyaxares (Uvakhsatara) succeeded him on the throne (635-595) and was even a more warlike king. Taking warning from the unfortunate end of his father, his first care was to give to the Medes a good military organisation; he formed the warriors into regular corps, brought into one body all similarly armed men, who had hitherto fought

in a confused mass, subjected them to severe discipline, and in this way prepared them for new conquests. The first trial he made of his forces was against the Parthians, who had revolted on the death of Phraortes. Again entertaining his father's projects, he contemplated the ruin of Nineveh: following the example of Arbaces, he sought an ally in the south of the Tigro-Euphrates basin, so that he might not stand alone in such an enterprise. A treaty was concluded between Cyaxares and the Chaldæan Nabopolassar for the conquest and partition of Assyria, and the pledge of the alliance was a marriage between Amytis, daughter of Cyaxares, and Nebuchadnezzar, the youthful son of Nabopolassar.

In 625 the death of Asshur-edililani presented the opportunity of realising the projects of the allies. The Medes and the Chaldæans simultaneously invaded Assyria, the one from the north, the other from the south. Cyaxares had already defeated the Assyrians in a pitched battle, and had formed the siege of Nineveh, whilst Nabopolassar was advancing with all his forces to join him before that city, when the king of the Medes was suddenly attacked by a numerous army of Scythians, under Madyas their king. These Scythians were not auxiliaries hastening to the assistance of the king of Assyria; they were a barbarous race, who were migrating with no specially defined purpose. A war had broken out between them and their neighbours, the Cimmerians, in the plains north of the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus. Having conquered the Cimmerians, the Scythians, in pursuit of them, had crossed the defiles of the Caucasus, and marching straight on, not knowing whither they went, rushed like a torrent into Media. Cyaxares attempted to stop them, but lost a battle; and in one day fell from the position of the master of great part of Asia to that of a subject of these barbarians.

The Scythians ruled all Western Asia for eighteen years. From Media, where they established their head quarters, they threw themselves into Assyria, Osrhoene, Syria, and Palestine, where they plundered the famous temple of Derceto at Ascalon, and stopped only at the frontier of Egypt, where Psammetik I. purchased their retreat with bribes. This was a terrible invasion of barbarians, whose cruelties and ravages were as dreadful as those of their descendants in the Middle Ages, the Tartars of Genghis and Timour. They ruined all the countries they occupied by their violence and robbery. Beyond the ordinary tribute, as Herodotus tells us,* they exacted from each person an arbitrary impost as ransom for his life and goods; and besides these exactions, they scoured the whole country, and pillaged all they could lay hands on.

* Her. i. 106.

The prophet Jeremiah, seeing them approach the frontiers of Judah, spoke of them in these terms (Jer. vi. 22, 23; viii. 16; ix. 10):—

"Behold, a people cometh from the north country, and a great nation shall be raised up from the sides of the earth. They shall lay hold on bow and spear; they are cruel, and have no mercy; their voice roareth like the sea; and they ride upon horses, set in array as men for war against thee, O daughter of Zion. . . . . The snorting of his horses was heard from Dan: the whole land trembled at the sound of the neighing of his strong ones; for they are come, and have devoured the land, and all that is in it; the city, and those that dwell therein . . . For the mountains will I take up a weeping and wailing, and for the habitations of the wilderness a lamentation, because they are burned up, so that none can pass through them; neither can men hear the voice of the cattle; both the fowl of the heavens and the beast are fled; they are gone." And again (Jer. v. 15):—"Lo, I will bring a nation upon you from far, O house of Israel, saith the Lord; it is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say. Their quiver is as an open sepulchre, they are all mighty men. And they shall eat up thine harvest, and thy bread, which thy sons and thy daughters should eat: they shall eat up thy flocks and thine herds: they shall eat up thy vines and thy fig trees: they shall impoverish thy fenced cities, wherein thou trustedst, with the sword."

3. The Medes suffered more than any others from these invaders, who established themselves in their country as though they never intended to leave it, and they were only enabled to achieve their deliverance by treachery. Cyaxares and the Median nobles invited the king and chiefs of the Scythians to a feast; there they intoxicated them and murdered them in their drunkenness. Then the whole population of Media, agriculturists and shepherds as well as warriors, Turanians as well as Iranians, rose in a body and put to death all the Scythians they could find, an easy prey when deprived of their chiefs; part of them took to flight, and by way of the Caucasus regained their native plains; some others escaped with life, but were reduced to slavery and allowed to live in some districts of Media. Thus it was that the Medes regained both their liberty and their supremacy over the countries they had formerly ruled.

As soon as he was delivered from these barbarian invaders, Cyaxares renewed his alliance with Nabopolassar and his enterprise against Nineveh. In 606 the proud city was taken and destroyed, and this time for ever. The two conquerors divided Assyria between them, the northern part was assigned to the Medes, and the southern to the Babylonians.

It was undoubtedly at this time that the Medes became masters of

Susiana, a country bordering both on the Median provinces and on Persia. This country had been finally united to Assyria by Asshur-bâni-pal; the kings of Chaldæa of the dynasty of Nabopolassar never possessed it, and we find that Cyrus governed there as soon as he took the place of Astyages on the throne. It seems therefore that we must conclude that Susiana was assigned to the Medes, as part of the spoils of the Ninevite kingdom.

4. Three years afterwards (in 603), the emigration of one of the Scythian tribes who had remained in Media in a state of slavery, and the asylum given them by Alyattes, king of Lydia, brought about a war between Cyaxares and that kingdom, which had a few years before become supreme over Phrygia and Cappadocia, and consequently bordered on the Armenian frontier of the Medes. "The war between the Medes and the Lydians continued," says Herodotus,* "for five years with various success. In the course of it the Medes gained many victories over the Lydians, and the Lydians also gained many victories over the Medes."

"Among their other battles there was one night-engagement. As, however, the balance had not inclined in favor of either nation, another combat took place in the sixth year, in the course of which, just as the battle was growing warm, day was on a sudden changed into night. This event had been foretold by Thales the Milesian, who forewarned the Ionians of it, fixing for it the very year in which it actually took place. The Medes and Lydians, when they observed the change ceased fighting, and were alike anxious to have terms of peace agreed on. Syennesis of Cilicia, and Labynetus of Babylon, were the persons who mediated between the parties, who hastened the taking of oaths, and brought about the exchange of espousals. It was they who advised that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis in marriage to Astyages, the son of Cyaxares, knowing, as they did, that without some sure bond of strong necessity, there is wont to be but little security in men's covenants." The river Halys, flowing through the midst of Cappadocia, was chosen as the boundary of the two empires. Astronomers fix the date of the total eclipse that occurred during this battle between the Medes and Lydians as 597 B.C. Cyaxares died two years afterwards (595).†

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* HER. i. 74

† Various dates have been assigned to this eclipse by ancient and modern writers: the principal are by Volney, B.C. 625; by Clinton, B.C. 603; by Larcher, B.C. 597 (as in the text); by Bosanquet, B.C. 585; by Pliny, B.C. 584; by Clemens Alexandrinus, B.C. 579.

CHAPTER IV.

YOUTH OF CYRUS—DESTRUCTION OF THE MEDIAN EMPIRE.

Chief Authorities.

Ancient Authors:—Herodotus, Book I.—Diodorus Siculus, Book IV. —Justin, Book I.—Xénophon, *Cyrop.*

Modern Historians:—Dubeux, *La Perse*, Paris, 1840.—Max Duncker, *Geschichte der Arier*, Leipzig, 1867.

On Armenia:—Moses of Chorene, *History of Armenia*, French translation by Levaillant de Florival.—Eugene Boré, *Arménie*, 1838.—Delaurier, *Les Chants Populaires de l'Arménie Ancienne*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes.*

SECTION I.—REIGN OF ASTYAGES AND CHILDHOOD OF CYRUS (595—560).

1. ASTYAGES (Ajtahaga), son of Cyaxares, succeeded to the throne. His reign was a long one, and for thirty years seems to have been marked by no event of importance. Astyages was not a warlike, conquering prince; history records no expedition of his beyond the frontiers established by his predecessors for the Median monarchy. All that has been recorded of him marks him as a suspicious and perfidious tyrant, and his cruelty and bad faith brought about the catastrophe that terminated his reign.

2. Astyages had a daughter named Mandane, whom he married to a Persian named Cambyses (Kambujiya), son of Teispes, and grandson of Achæmenes, who no doubt was, though the ancient writers do not say so, satrap, or vassal king of his own country. After this marriage, according to the story of Herodotus,* he saw in a dream a vine growing from his daughter, and overshadowing all Asia. Having required the Magi to interpret this dream, they told him that a child should be born of Mandane, who should one day reign in his place. Astyages was desirous of securing his throne, and, moreover, had already two grandsons, Xathritas (Khsathrita), and Sithratachmes (Çithratakhma), one of whom he intended for his successor. He therefore summoned his daughter to him, and putting her under close restraint, determined to put to death the infant to which she was about to give birth. When the child was born, Astyages called Harpagus, one of his most devoted servants, and directed him to put to death the son of Cambyses. Harpagus, unwilling to stain himself with such a crime, directed one of the herdsmen of Astyages to expose the infant on a desert mountain,

* HER. i. 107.

where it was sure to die. But the herdsman did not obey the order, and brought up the son of Cambyses, who was at first called Agradates, and afterwards Cyrus, in place of his own still-born son.

3. In the meanwhile the young Agradates grew up in his village. An incident, related by Herodotus, and which is probably more or less fabulous, led to his recognition.* "He was at play, one day, in the village where the folds of the cattle were, along with the boys of his own age, in the street. The other boys who were playing with him chose the cowherd's son, as he was called, to be their king. He then proceeded to order them about: some he set to build him houses, others he made his guards, one of them was to be the king's eye, another had the office of carrying his messages, all had some task or other. Among the boys there was one, the son of Artembares, a Mede of distinction, who refused to do what Cyrus had set him. Cyrus told the other boys to take him into custody, and when his orders were obeyed, he chastised him most severely with the whip.

"The son of Artembares, as soon as he was let go, full of rage at treatment so little befitting his rank, hastened to the city, and complained bitterly to his father of what had been done to him by Cyrus. He did not, of course, say 'Cyrus,' by which name the boy was not yet known, but called him the son of the king's cowherd. Artembares, in the heat of his passion, went to Astyages, accompanied by his son, and made complaint of the gross injury which had been done him. Pointing to the boy's shoulders, he exclaimed, 'Thus, O king, has thy slave, the son of a cowherd, heaped insult upon us!'

"At this sight and these words, Astyages, wishing to avenge the son of Artembares for his father's sake, sent for the cowherd and his boy. When they came together into his presence, fixing his eyes on Cyrus, Astyages said, 'Hast thou, then, the son of so mean a fellow as that, dared to behave thus rudely to the son of yonder noble, one of the first in my court?' 'My lord,' replied the boy, 'I only treated him as he deserved. I was chosen king in play by the boys of our village, because they thought me the best for it. He himself was one of the boys who chose me. All the others did according to my orders; but he refused, and made light of them, until at last he got his due reward. If for this I deserve to suffer punishment, here I am ready to submit to it.'

"While the boy was yet speaking, Astyages was struck with a suspicion who he was. He thought he saw something in the character of his face like his own, and there was a nobleness about the answer he had made; besides which his age seemed to tally with the time when his grandchild was exposed. Astonished at all this, Astyages could not

* HER. i. 114, *seq.*

speak for a while. At last, recovering himself with difficulty, and wishing to be quit of Artembares, that he might examine the herdsman alone, he said to the former, 'I promise thee, Artembares, so to settle this business that neither thou nor thy son shall have any cause to complain.' Artembares retired from his presence, and the attendants, at the bidding of the king, led Cyrus into an inner apartment.

"Astyages then being left alone with the herdsman, inquired of him where he had got the boy, and who had given him to him; to which he made answer that the lad was his own child, begotten by himself, and that the mother who bore him was still alive and lived with him at his house. Astyages remarked that he was very ill-advised to bring himself into such great trouble, and at the same time signaled to his body-guard to lay hold of him. Then the herdsman, as they were dragging him to the rack, began at the beginning, and told the whole story exactly as it happened, without concealing anything, ending with entreaties and prayers to the king to grant him forgiveness.

"Astyages, having got the truth of the matter from the herdsman, was very little further concerned about him, but with Harpagus he was exceedingly enraged. The guards were bidden to summon him into the presence, and on his appearance Astyages asked him, 'By what death was it, Harpagus, that thou slewest the child of my daughter, whom I gave into thy hands?' Harpagus related the whole story in a plain, straightforward way; upon which Astyages, letting no sign escape him of the anger he felt, began by repeating to him all that he had just heard from the cowherd, and then concluded with saying, 'So the boy is alive, and it is best as it is. For the child's fate was a great sorrow to me, and the reproaches of my daughter went to my heart. Truly fortune has played us a good turn in this. Go thou home, then, and send thy son to be with the new comer; and to-night, as I mean to sacrifice thank-offerings for the child's safety to the gods, to whom such honour is due, I look to have thee a guest at the banquet.'

"Harpagus, on hearing this, made obeisance, and went home, rejoicing to find that his disobedience had turned out so fortunately, and that, instead of being punished, he was invited to a banquet given in honour of the happy occasion. The moment he reached home he called for his son, a youth of about thirteen, the only child of his parents, and bade him go to the palace, and do whatever Astyages should direct. Then, in the gladness of his heart, he went to his wife, and told her all that had happened. Astyages, meanwhile, took the son of Harpagus, and slew him, after which he cut him in pieces, and roasted some portions before the fire and boiled others; and when all were duly prepared, he kept them ready for use.

"The hour for the banquet came and Harpagus appeared, and with

him the other guests, and all sat down to the feast. Astyages and the rest of the guests had joints of meat served up to them, but on the table of Harpagus nothing was placed except the flesh of his own son. This was all put before him, except the hands, and feet, and head, which were laid by themselves in a covered basket. When Harpagus seemed to have eaten his fill, Astyages called out to him to know how he had enjoyed his repast. On his reply that he had enjoyed it excessively, they whose business it was brought him the basket, in which were the hands and feet and head of his son, and bade him open it and take out what he pleased. Harpagus accordingly uncovered the basket, and saw within it the remains of his son. The sight, however, did not scare him, or rob him of his self-possession. Being asked by Astyages if he knew what beast's flesh it was that he had been eating, he answered that he knew very well, and that whatever the king did was agreeable."

4. The subjects of a despot know, like Harpagus, how to dissemble, but never to forget an injury. Harpagus waited long, but in the end took his revenge by exciting Agradates to revolt. Astyages having recognised him as his grandson, consulted the Magi, who were of opinion that the dream had been accomplished, as Agradates had actually assumed the part of a king, and that no danger threatened the crown of Astyages. The latter, therefore, allowed him to go to his father Cambyses into Persia. There the secret messengers of Harpagus sought him out, excited his ambition, and promised him an easy victory, pointing out to him the numerous enemies Astyages had made by his severity, even in his own court.

Section II.—The Persians and Cyrus.

1. The native country of the Persians is that mountainous province still called Farsistan, that is, the dwelling-place of the Fars, the Persians. As we have already said, this nation was the purest branch of the Iranian race. For a long period the Persians remained nomads and semi-barbarians, and from this mode of life, and from the rigorous climate of the country they inhabited, acquired the indomitable courage they exhibited. Under Cyrus they were still partly nomads; and this prince knew well what his people owed to the sterile soil and generally inclement sky, when he represented to his companions that an enervated people were generally made so by the softness of their climate and the riches of their soil. When a person, named Artembares (not the one we have already mentioned), wished to persuade his countrymen to exchange their small and mountainous land for a larger and better

country, Cyrus strongly opposed his proposition. "Soft countries," said he, "gave birth to small men; there was no region which produced very delightful fruits and at the same time men of a warlike spirit." "The Persians," adds Herodotus,* "departed with altered minds, confessing that Cyrus was wiser than they; and chose rather to dwell in a churlish land, and exercise lordship, than to cultivate plains and be slaves to others."

2. The Persians were divided into ten tribes,† and into three social classes—the tribes of the Pasargadians, or more correctly Parsagadians, inhabitants of the city of Parçauvada, "the Persian fortress," called Pasargadæ by the Greeks; the Maraphians and the Maspians formed the aristocracy, the warriors. The Pasargadæ were superior to all the others, from them sprang Achæmenes, the ancestor of Cyrus. The Panthialæans, the Derusiæans and the Germanians were the cultivators of the soil; the Daans, the Mardians, the Dropicans and the Sagartians led the life of nomad shepherds. Modern travellers still find these ancient manners and customs existing in the mountains of Farsistan.

The Persians and the Bactrians were, of all the Iranian people, those who had preserved the Zoroastrian religion in its greatest purity. Their isolated life and tribal independence, their republican liberty and parliamentary forms of government, which, as we have already shown, were the normal and primitive state of the Iranians, remained unaltered till the time of Cyrus. It was by free deliberation in a real national assembly that he was elected king. Even in later times, when the Persian empire was at its greatest height of glory and power, there still remained something of these ancient forms of this spirit of independence and liberty.

The nature of the government and the authority of the great king were very different in the provinces from what they were in Persia itself. Although elsewhere he was the typical Asiatic sovereign, absolute, uncontrolled, almost divine; in Persia the king was only the chief of a free people. The Persians paid no tribute; the king could not condemn one of them to death for a single crime,‡ and without observing all the forms of justice; it would even seem that the institution of the trial of every man by his peers, by a jury, existed among them. It was their warlike legions, with the hardy habits of mountaineers, who constituted the chief strength of the armies of the king; but he was unable to march them out absolutely at his own caprice—the Persian nation had to decide on the propriety of the war. On these solemn occasions the king, whose word was law to all the other nations beneath his sceptre, assembled round him, before taking his resolution, a real parliament,

* HER. ix. 122. † HER. i 125.

‡ HER. i. 137.

composed of the chiefs and principal men among the Persians, who were looked on almost as his equals.

It is thus that Herodotus, always well informed, records that the declaration of war by Darius against the Greeks was preceded by a careful deliberation in the royal parliament, in which everyone expressed his opinion with entire freedom. And this fact was so well known in Greece, that a celebrated painted vase in the museum at Naples represents, with the names of the personages, the scene of this deliberation. It was only in later times, after the days of Xerxes,* that the last traces of this free life disappeared, when the Persians had been enervated and corrupted by riches, and by contact with the corruptions of the nations they had conquered. Then the power of the great king became the same in Persia as in the rest of his empire, and the descendants of the free companions of Cyrus were bowed beneath the yoke of an unlimited despotism.

3. Persia, before the time of Cyrus, as its divided condition afforded no means of resistance to the enterprises of the great military powers, could not escape the invasions of the conquerors who successively possessed themselves of Western Asia; the Assyrians under the princes of the family of Sargon conquered part of their territory, and they were next entirely subdued by the Medes. They were subject to the latter until the time of the revolution that restored their independence. But in the simple and agricultural life they led in their mountains, the Persians preserved all the energy of their primitive manners, and so, when the day came that, commanded by a brave and skilful chief, they opposed themselves to the Medes, already enervated and degenerated by civilization, they were easily victorious, and in a few years became masters of all Asia. "The young Persians," says Herodotus,† "from their fifth to their twentieth year, are carefully instructed in three things alone—to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth." These few words, describing the warlike education and noble precepts inspired by the Mazdean doctrine—precepts to which the nation did not, however, long remain faithful—completely explain the rapid and prodigious success of the Persians.

4. The work of the son of Cambyses, to which he was urged on both by his own ambition and by the councils of Harpagus, was to reunite the scattered tribes into a nation, and subject the whole of the Persians to one authority; when once this result was obtained, there was nothing to which he could not aspire. He first gave out that Astyages had appointed him satrap of Persia, and with this title he convoked a grand assembly of the chiefs of the tribes. He then threw

* HER. vii. 8 to 19. † HER. i. 136.

off the mask, explained his projects to the assembled Iranian chiefs, showed them the prospect of fortune, power, and especially of independence, and by this means induced them to proclaim him king, and to attack the Median monarch. He then changed his name from Agradates to Cyrus (Kurush). He re-erected all over Persia the *ateshgahs*, or fire altars, which the Medes seem to have overthrown at the time of their conquest, and re-established the Zoroastrian religion in its severest purity. But at the same time, so as not to alienate the supporters he expected to find among the Medes, who were wearied with the tyranny of Astyages, he permitted the sanctuaries of the Median Magi still to stand. Cyrus ordered a *levée en masse* of all the warriors of the Persian tribes, and having assembled a numerous army, marched on Media. At the news of his revolt, Tigranes, king of Armenia, also rose in insurrection, threw off the Median yoke, and thus supplied most needful help to the Persian hero.

SECTION III.—GLANCE AT THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF ARMENIA —TIGRANES I. AND ASTYAGES.

1. THE chain of mountains which, rising from the coast of the Ægæan Sea, crosses Asia Minor, Upper Mesopotamia, Persia, and Bactria, to join the great mountain mass that divides Central Asia, opens towards the north in the direction of the Black and the Caspian Seas; it forms a vast network, one branch of which, known to the ancients as the Paryadræ, or Moschyan mountains, passed round the south-east angle of the Black Sea, to connect themselves with the Caucasus. The name, Armenia, is applied to the plateau of which that mountain range is the north-west boundary, and it has as its southern limit the long range known by the general name of the Taurus. The culminating point is Mount Ararat, and the summit of this magnificent mountain, crowned with perpetual snow, rises 16,000 feet above the level of the sea. Armenia thus occupies a central mountain position between Asia Minor on one side, Media on another, and Assyria on the third; and thus its possession has always been considered as of the highest strategic importance in the struggle for supremacy in Asia.

The configuration of the land of Armenia is the more interesting to study, in that it has powerfully influenced the vicissitudes that country has experienced in the course of its historical existence. Mountains more or less elevated, hills with but slight declivity, alternate throughout the country with valleys, mostly very narrow, though some of them, like that of the Araxes, open out into a vast plain. On the heights the soil is bare and sterile, in the valleys fertile, sometimes to the utmost

possible extent. On a territory thus unequally distributed, and where immense mountain barriers divide the people, no united government, co-extensive with the country, could ever have been possible.

From the remotest ages Armenia appears in history as split up into a host of petty principalities, almost independent of the royal authority, and often at variance with each other. The Armenian monarchy was always wanting in cohesion; enfeebled by the internal struggles produced by the inherent weakness of its feudal constitution, it has on many occasions been subjected to invasion and conquest. It has almost always been under the dominion of foreign masters, who sometimes contented themselves with exercising the right of suzerainty, and sometimes governed the country directly by their own lieutenants. On rare occasions, princes, endowed with political or military talents, succeeded in breaking this yoke; but their efforts never resulted in establishing more than a doubtful and temporary independence. Armenia was always powerless against the great empires that arose round her in Asia, and she ended by being merely the prey in dispute between the Romans and the Parthians, the Byzantine Greeks, and the Persian Sassanidæ, a country torn to fragments by the Arabs, and at last trodden under foot by the Turks and Mongolians.

2. Armenia was at first called *Haiasdan*, and its primitive inhabitants seem to have belonged to the Cushite race. The famous migration of Haig was the most ancient tradition of the country, and this was said to have taken place from Babylon, soon after the confusion of tongues. These people are to be recognised as Accad, closely related to those of Chaldæa, whom the Assyrian texts exhibit to us as one of the chief elements in the population of Armenia. Above this first population came in later times the true Armenian nation, a separate branch of the Japhetic race, intermediate between the Iranians and the Phrygians, designated in the 10th chapter of Genesis by the name of Togarmah. This new immigration, much more numerous than the former, is the one represented in the national traditions by the mythical personage Armenas, the second coloniser of the country, who in later times was supposed to be related to Haig.

The immigration of the Armenians to the country round Ararat no doubt preceded that of the Iranians, but was subsequent to that of the Celts, who made some stay in a portion of the country afterwards occupied by the former nation. They must have been the first of the Arians, properly so called, or of the eastern Japhetic tribes, to leave the original cradle of their race in Bactria.

3. The sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, as well as the upper valleys of those two rivers, are in the Armenian territory. It was absolutely necessary for the masters of Mesopotamia to possess these, unless they wished to see an irruption of northern nations into their fertile

territories by this route. And so, if we may put any faith in the chronological lists of the ancient kings of Armenia, as recorded by Moses of Chorene, following books much older than his time, the sovereigns of the first Semitic Chaldæan empire, at the time of their greatest power, when they were masters of Assyria—about the period of Ishmidagan and Hammurabi—had already conquered Armenia. These lists place in the year 1725 B.C. the defeat of the Armenian king Anushavan, and the establishment of the supremacy of the great Mesopotamian empire over his dominion.

Two centuries later the Egyptian conqueror Thothmes III., after subjugating the Rotennu, became master of all Mesopotamia, from Nineveh to Babylon, and sought out the Remeneu, or Armenians, in their mountains, and imposed on them a tribute. When the Assyrian empire rose into power on the decline of the Egyptian, the first country to be conquered was Armenia, as soon as it had shaken off the nominal suzerainty of Egypt. The most ancient Assyrian campaigns of which we have any record, those of Tiglath Pileser I., were chiefly in Armenia, where they seem to have had the character rather of the repression of a rebellion than of a new conquest.

Assyrian domination in Armenia lasted for four centuries, and seems never to have been seriously contested during the whole of that long period. Divided into a great number of petty kingdoms, Armenia was reckoned among the tributary lands. Assyrian influence during this period was sufficiently strong to introduce among the Armenians the religion of Babylon and Nineveh; and the worship of some of the deities even survived the introduction of Mazdeism, and to them popular adoration was addressed in preference to others, especially to Anahid, the Anat, or Anaitis, of the Chaldæo-Assyrians, and to Sbantarad, Vahakn, and Nane, the gods of arms and war, corresponding to Merodach, Nergal, and Adar Samdan.

To these divine personages, spoken of by Moses of Chorene, we may add some with whom we have become acquainted by the cuneiform inscriptions, Baga-barta, or Baga-mazda (for the reading of the name is doubtful), who seems to have been the supreme god, and Haldia, the local deity of Van. The plunder of his chief sanctuary in the city of Musassir, on the borders of Lake Van, as well as the destruction of the statue of the god, is represented on the bas-reliefs of the palace of Khorsabad.

The fabulous legend of Semiramis, originally a religious myth, before it was introduced for political purposes into the official Persian history, was as well known in Armenia as in the Tigro-Euphrates basin; and in popular poetical fables the immense works of the fortifications at Van, sometimes called, in consequence of those legends, Shamiramiguerd, "the city of Semiramis," were attributed to that heroine.

4. When Arbaces the Mede rebelled against Sardanapalus and destroyed Nineveh, in 789, the Armenian Baruir joined him, took part in the campaign, and restored the independence of the ancient territory of Haig and Armenag. Armenian tradition held him to be a descendant of the ancient sovereigns of the land, and at the time he took up arms against the Assyrians he seems to have been prince of the district of Ararat. Associated with the exploits of Arbaces, he became, after his victory, king of the whole of Armenia, and the chiefs of the other districts willingly acknowledged the supremacy of their liberator and of his descendants. When the Assyrian empire was reconstituted, great efforts were made to reconquer Armenia, and the whole of the southern part was, in fact, subdued.

In 742, Tiglath-pileser II. boasts of having made a "massacre" in Armenia; Baruir was then still on the throne, though his reign was nearly ended. Then came the time of the destructive wars of Sargon against Urtsa, king of Armenia (the Hartchea of Moses of Chorene), son of Baruir, and his vassals, such as Ullusun of Van, mentioned in the Khorsabad cuneiform inscriptions, and when king Argistis (the Gornhag of Moses of Chorene) built on the rocks of the Acropolis of Van (where his name has been found) a part of the great works popularly attributed to Semiramis. Through all these struggles Armenia was the faithful ally of the Medes. Soon afterwards Phraortes made the Armenians, as we have already said, a dependency of his empire, still allowing them, however, to retain their own king.

5. The prince who governed Armenia in the time of Astyages was Tigranes I., one of the kings who plays the greatest part in the traditions of the country. Moses of Chorene, borrowing from the stories of the popular poets, thus describes him:—"A hero with light hair silvered at the ends, with rubicund face and mild look, robust limbs and broad shoulders, strong and active on his feet, always moderate and regular in his pleasures. Our ancestors sang to the sound of the pampiru (a sort of lute with metallic strings) praises of his moderation in sensual pleasures, of his bravery, his eloquence, and his useful qualities in all that relates to mankind. Always correct in his judgments, and the friend of justice, he held the balance in his hand, and weighed fairly every man's deeds. He neither envied those who were greater than himself, nor despised those who were less, and desired only to extend his protection and care to everyone."

Tigranes was extremely popular among his subjects, and Astyages was jealous of him. He feared lest he should proclaim his independence, and not daring to attack him openly, conceived the idea of putting him to death by one of those treacherous acts habitual to him, and then reducing Armenia to the position of a province governed by a mere satrap. Having asked and obtained Dikranuhi, the sister of

Tigranes, for his second wife, he attempted to induce that prince to come to visit him at Ecbatana, where he intended to cause him to be assassinated. This was just at the time when Cyrus called the Persians to arms, and broke into open rebellion. Tigranes, secretly warned by his sister, did not fall into the snare. Resolved to take vengeance for the perfidy of Astyages, he himself also revolted, and assembled the Armenians to invade Media, and make common cause with the young king of the Persians.

SECTION IV.—DEFEAT OF ASTYAGES AND RUIN OF THE MEDIAN EMPIRE (559).

1. ASTYAGES was wrapped in profound security, believing the prosperity and the duration of his empire assured for ever, when the intelligence of the double revolt of Cyrus and Tigranes burst on him like a clap of thunder. Considering that the danger was most menacing on the side of Persia, he resolved to direct all the forces he could assemble to that quarter. But, in his blindness, ignorant that Harpagus was betraying him, and forgetting that he could not rely on the fidelity of a man on whom he had inflicted so horrible and cruel a punishment, he entrusted to that nobleman the command of the army sent against Cyrus. Everything therefore facilitated the success of the enterprise of the son of Cambyses.

The Medes having taken the field, soon came into collision with the Persians. Those who had not been informed of the schemes of Harpagus fought with courage, but all the rest of the army deserted to the enemy. Astyages, in his rage, crucified the Magi who had advised him to let Cyrus go. He then armed all the warriors of the Arizantes who remained in his kingdom, young and old, and led them against the Persians, with whom Tigranes and the Armenians had effected a junction, and gave them battle before Ecbatana. He sustained a complete defeat; the greater part of his army was destroyed, and he himself fell alive into the hands of his enemies. He had reigned thirty-five years. This was the end of the Median empire, so powerful for a time, and its dominions passed into the power of the Persians.

2. Herodotus simply says that Astyages was made prisoner by Cyrus. Ctesias adds that he was treated by the latter as a father, but the Armenian traditions say he was killed by Tigranes. The Armenian king captured his own sister, with the king and his first wife, whom Moses of Chorene calls Anuish, but who must have been Aryenis, the daughter of Alyattes, and also ten thousand Medes. He assigned them a dwelling in the country extending from Ararat to the two streams of the Axaxes, eastward. Their descendants increased considerably, and

formed the inhabitants of a special province, called, up to the eleventh century of our era, Muratzian. With this Median population of Ararat was connected a large mass of traditions and legends in the popular tales of the Armenians, which have been made great use of by poets, and some traces of them are to be found scattered through the book of Moses of Chorene.

Tigranes recognised Cyrus as his suzerain, and was to the end his faithful vassal. His descendants continued to rule their kingdom under the Persian supremacy, without ever revolting, until the time of Vahe, son of Van, last prince of the dynasty, who was killed in defending the cause of Darius Codomannus against Alexander the Great. They were not placed on the same footing as other vassal kings, but were treated with much greater distinction and in the same way as the great Persian nobles. A devoted adherent to all that was Persian, as well as personally attached to Cyrus, who had made an end of the tyranny of Astyages, Tigranes embraced the religion of Zoroaster, and disseminated it in his dominions, where it soon became predominant, mixed up however with some remains of the Assyrian polytheism that had formerly prevailed among the people. Thus all the Armenian words that are used even to the present day, for *God*, for the ideas of holiness, fire, worship, etc., are purely Iranian.

3. It is hardly necessary to mention the story Xenophon, in contradiction to all other historians, relates of the end of the Median empire, and the manner in which Cyrus came into possession of power. In the Cyropædia, Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, dies a natural death, and is succeeded by his son Cyaxares II., who is not mentioned by any other author. Cyaxares, threatened with a formidable war, puts his nephew at the head of his armies, and he conquers the Lydian and Babylonian empires. Cyrus succeeds him legitimately, and transfers the Median dominion to the Persians without a struggle.

This story, evidently untrue, although it was accepted by some modern scholars before ancient Oriental history was as well known as it is now, does not need refutation. Xenophon never intended it for real history. In writing the Cyropædia, he did not profess to write an historical work, but a mere romance in which to set forth his political and educational theories. He wished to contrast an ideal absolute government, with the equally ideal republic of Plato. Setting up, therefore, Cyrus as a model king and warrior, Xenophon disguised the real facts of the case, omitted to mention his revolt against Astyages and usurpation of his throne, as he would not introduce any incident as to the propriety of which there might be any discussion.

CHAPTER V.

CONQUESTS OF CYRUS. FOUNDATION OF THE POWER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

Chief Authorities.

On Persian History:—The same as in the preceding Chapter.

On Asia Minor and its Various Nations:—Volney, *Chronologie des Rois Lydiens*, in vol. i. of his *Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Histoire Ancienne.*—Ernest Curtius, *Die Ionier vor der Ionischen Wanderung*, Berlin, 1855—D'Eckstein, *Questions relatives aux Antiquités des Peuples Sémitiques*, Paris, 1857.—Lassen, *Ueber die Lykischen Inschriften und die alten Sprachen Kleinasiens*, in vol. x. of the German Asiatic Society.—Texier, *Asie Mineur*, Paris.—Perrot and Guillaume, *Expédition de Galatie* (in course of publication).—A. Maury, *Histoire des Réligions de la Grèce Antique*, vol. i.

SECTION I.—CYRUS AND THE ARIAN NATIONS.

1. THE defeat of Astyages and the conquest of Media gave Cyrus the sovereignty of the countries dependent on that empire, and in particular of all the Arian nations on this side of the Hindoo Koosh and the Carmanian deserts. The conqueror hastened to ensure their submission, a work of little difficulty, for all these nations, related to his own, felt attracted to the young Persian hero, and naturally preferred the supremacy of a people of pure Iranian to that of the mixed Median race.

Carmania was a natural dependency of Persia; Cyrus had no occasion to reduce it, for all appearances prove that the inhabitants of that country, ardently devoted to Mazdeism, had taken part in the first insurrection, and had marched against Astyages with the Persians. The Bactrians, as Ctesias tells us, submitted willingly, as well as the people of Sogdiana and Margiana, who were subordinate to them, to the restorer of that Zoroastrian religion which had first been promulgated, and still had its most devoted adherents in their country. Parthia, Turanian though it was, enclosed between Media and Bactria, did not venture to resist, and submitted without a struggle.

2. To ensure the tranquillity of Bactria, exposed to the frequent incursions and ravages of the Turanian Sacæ, Cyrus undertook the subjugation of that people, who lived around the sources of the Jaxartes. They were conquered, and their king, Anurges, made prisoner. Cyrus made their country a satrapy of his empire. He next turned to Hyrcania, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, where the people—Caspians, Pantimathi, and Daritæ of Turanian race, intermixed with

a few Arians—made some show of resistance. But they were unable to stand before the Persian troops; and finding their country invaded, made their submission, almost without fighting, to the king of Persia.

3. Having in this way assured the tranquillity of his dominions in the north-east, Cyrus, with the assistance of Tigranes, who in this war obtained possession of some of the countries bordering on Armenia, undertook the conquest of the district of the Caucasus, still independent of the Median empire. His progress here was more difficult and slower, on account of the obstacles in his way, both from the nature of the country and the warlike character of the people. The Persian king, however, succeeded, after some years of bloody and destructive wars, in subjugating Albania and Iberia, the Daghestan and Georgia of our times, and made them dependencies of his empire. The Colchi submitted to his arms. The nations inhabiting the steep mountains to the south-east of the Black Sea—Mardi, Macroni, Chalybes, Tibareni, celebrated throughout the ancient world for their skill in metal work from the remotest ages, and for their discovery of the art of making steel — were crushed and reduced to obedience. Cyrus thus found himself master of the whole of Asia Minor, as far as the river Halys.

Fourteen years had been required to accomplish these conquests. None of the incidents have been preserved by ancient historians, and the general outline only of the story is known to us. It was at this moment, when the conqueror of Astyages had ended his foreign expeditions, that there broke out between him and Crœsus, king of Lydia, the war that was to end by giving him possession of the whole of Asia Minor, as far as the shores of the Ægæan Sea. But before commencing the story of that war, it will be necessary to give some details as to the varied populations of Asia Minor, and of the history of the kingdom of Lydia.

Section II.—The Inhabitants of Asia Minor.

1. Asia Minor projects like a huge promontory between the Black Sea and the Levant, pushing, as it were, before it the waves of the Ægæan Sea. The chain of the Taurus covers its southern shores with lofty mountains, the habitation in all ages of fierce tribes, always ready to make descents on the sea-coast and on the plains at their feet, to plunder both merchants and the peasants. This mountainous region includes, from east to west, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, all stretching southward from the mountains towards the sea; and Pisidia, Isauria, and Lycaonia, descending northwards from the height of the mountains towards the interior. To the west, on a coast deeply indented by numerous rivers and streams that fertilise the soil, are the

Troad, Mysia, and the Æolian, Ionian and Dorian settlements. Opposite the southern coast are the two great islands of Rhodes and Cyprus. Off the west coast there is a labyrinth of pleasant islands—Lemnos, Chios, Samos, and the Sporades. Northward, where the Black Sea communicates with the Ægæan by the two straits, the Hellespont and Bosphorus, are Mysia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus; and finally, in the centre, in the least favoured part of the country, are Phrygia and Cappadocia.

2. The first inhabitants of Asia Minor, of whom the Carians were the chief representatives in classical times, seem to have belonged, like almost all the nations in Western Asia before the immigration, first of the Semitic, and afterwards of the Japhetic, races, to the Hamitic branch of the human family. This we have already pointed out in the first book of this Manual.* But from a very remote antiquity, branches of the descendants of Shem and of Japhet imposed themselves on, and constituted the major part of, the inhabitants of the country. The river Halys, now the Kizil-Irmak, the largest river of Asia Minor, marked the boundary of the two races. The people west of that river were for the most part Phrygians, Mysians, Paphlagonians, and Bithynians, of Indo-European race, and nearly related to the Thracians of Europe; those to the east, Cappadocians, Cilicians, Pamphylians, and Solymes, were of the Aramæan branch of the Semitic family.

The Halys thus divided two groups of languages: those to the right, as their coins prove, were of the Semitic family, and very similar to the idiom of Northern Syria; the others on the left, of Arian origin, belonged to the Pelasgo-Thracian branch, or, perhaps, as the Phrygian seems to have been, intermediate between that and the Armenian. There was, however, in the rear of the Arian races, on the left bank of the Halys, almost on the shore of the Ægæan Sea, one Semitic nation, isolated and further advanced than the others, the Lydians, who formed a distinct branch of the race of Shem; whilst the other nations of the same race, on the other bank of the Halys, were of the Aramæan branch. The Lycians, whose habitation was on the southern coast, between the Hamitic Carians and the Semitic Pamphylians, were Indo-Europeans, or of Japhetic race; and some scholars who have studied their language, still but little known, consider them more nearly related to the Iranians than to the Pelasgo-Thracians. They must have been the last remains of a race that in the most ancient times was widely spread over Asia Minor, in the Archipelago, and even in Greece itself—a race mentioned during the reigns of Merenphtah and Ramses III. among the most formidable of the enemies of Egypt, and as "come from the isles and shores of the northern sea," under the

* Vol. i. p. 58.

name of *Leka*, to whom, as well as to the most ancient inhabitants of Laconia, belonged the name of Leleges.

3. Although sprung from three different races, the Carians, the Lydians, and the Mysians, living side by side in a small territory, had become so mixed, had contracted such close ties of relationship, as to forget the rivalry that had existed between them at the time of their first settlement, and even to fabricate genealogical tables, attributing to them a common origin and near affinity. In the city of Mylasa they offered common sacrifices to *Zeus Carios*, and thus established a religious and almost national bond of union between them. The Caunians, however, though they spoke the same language as the Carians, took no part in the sacrifice.

In the northern part of Asia Minor, the Bithynians, the Mariandinians, and the Paphlagonians formed a compact group, whose Thracian origin was manifested very clearly; for the nations inhabiting either bank of the Bosphorus had not only the same language, but exhibited in their manners the same characteristic love for war, slaughter, and pillage. The Phrygians and Mysians were closely related to them.

The Phrygians, termed Bryges in Europe, when they lived at the foot of Mount Bermion (and this name, it is said, meant in their language *Free men*), the Thracians of Bithynia, and the Mysians, who, according to Strabo, came from the country named Moesia by the Romans, on the banks of the Danube, are represented by the majority of ancient writers as emigrants from Europe to Asia.

The historian, Xanthus of Lydia, mentions the arrival of the Phrygians in Asia Minor as subsequent to the Trojan War. Herodotus* reverses the tradition, and speaks of a large body of Teucrians and Mysians, who, before that war, passed over from Asia to Europe, where they penetrated as far as the Peneus, driving before them the Thracians, who then crossed the Bosphorus and settled in Bithynia. Many similar stories are found both in Europe and Asia—that of Midas, for instance, current both in Phrygia and Macedonia, near Mount Bermion. From these facts it follows that these nations were related to each other, and that Thracia and Asia Minor, and consequently Greece and Asia, had intercourse before the period, however remote it be, when the Dorian invasion of Greece drove out the Ionians and Æolians, who covered the shores of Lydia and Mysia with their cities, and from that time separated the natives of these countries from the sea.

4. The greater part of the nations of Asia Minor have no history. That of the Dardanians of Troy, who formed the first powerful empire

* HER. vii. 20, 75.

in that part of the globe, and who, in the time of Ramses II., against whom their armies fought in Syria, divided the supremacy in Asia Minor with the Lekas or Lycians, cannot be disentangled from the mythological fables with which it has been mixed up by the Greeks. It is only of the Carians, Phrygians, and Lydians that we know anything positive, and except in the case of the latter, this is but very little.

The Carians, who in later times, at the period of their intimate alliance with the Lydians and Mysians, reported themselves to be descended from one of the brothers of the mythical heroes, Lydus and Mysus, were in reality Canaanitish by origin, and were still very powerful for a time, after the Semitic and Arian tribes had driven them into the narrow district at the south-west angle of the promontory. Compelled then to seek a new country by sea, they covered the Ægæan with their ships, and the islands with their colonies; for when, in 426 B.C., Nicias purified the island of Delos, it was found that the greater part of the dead bodies buried there, whom he exhumed, were of Carians.

The Phœnicians and Greeks by slow degrees reduced their power, and Minos, king of Crete, is said to have driven their piratical vessels from the Ægæan Sea. The establishment of Greek colonies on their coasts, where the Dorians founded or enlarged Cnidos and Halicarnassus, shut them up in the interior of their country, and soon came conquering kings to invade them, Crœsus first, then Cyrus, who allowed them to retain their native-born chiefs.

From the time when they were no longer able to put to sea and scour the Ægæan, the Carians began to sell their services as mercenary troops to whoever bid for them. David at Jerusalem had a body of them in his guard, together with the Cretan archers; the Egyptian kings of the twenty-sixth dynasty recruited from the Carians a great part of their foreign soldiery. The small extent of their territory, and the difficulty of maintaining a large population, which drove them to seek foreign service, also gave rise to the practice of the selling of children as slaves by their parents. The slave merchants, therefore, found a well supplied market in that country, and after a time the name of Carian became a synonym for that of slave.

5. We know next to nothing of the history of the Phrygians; but it is certain that they were a great nation, highly civilised and rich, who played a considerable part and exercised great influence, not only on the countries immediately adjoining, but even on Greece itself, and on the commencement of the civilisation in the time of the dynasty of the sons of Pelops, who was said by tradition to have come from Lydia, or Phrygia, to Argos. In some respects the civilisation of Phrygia was highly refined, for one of the Greek musical scales, which was intermediate between the Lydian, the more highly pitched, and the Dorian,

or lower tone, was termed the Phrygian. The musicians Marsyas, Olympus, and Hyagnis, mentioned in Greek legends, were Phrygians.

The national religion of Phrygia, celebrated throughout the whole of the ancient world, and at one time spread to a great distance, was a grossly naturalistic pantheism, presenting great analogies in its fundamental ideas to the Chaldæo-Assyrian religion, but with a special character of its own, arising partly from the development of some most monstrous conceptions, and partly from the barbaric worship and rites of the priests (*galli*), devoted to celibacy, who gained great influence over the people by their frenzied dances and voluntary mutilations. Phrygia was renowned for its wool, woven at Miletus into beautiful fabrics; for its excellent agriculture, its cheeses, and salt provisions.

From the most ancient times this country formed a flourishing kingdom, which rose into great importance on the fall of the Dardanians, who appear to have exercised suzerainty, while still powerful, over Phrygia. A tradition as to its riches has reached us in the story of Midas, who turned everything he touched into gold. This state preceded the Lydians as the dominant power in Asia Minor, and before becoming aggressive, possessed a civilisation intermediate between that of the Tigro-Euphrates basin and those of Lydia, the Troad, and Greece. Unfortunately, nothing remains of this prosperity but a few legends, overlaid by mythological stories, and some funereal monuments, two of which bear inscriptions, cut in the rocks of the upper valley of the Sangarius. "Their purely native character," says a learned French traveller, M. Texier, "reveals the style of the architecture of the old Phrygians. There is nothing in them to show the influence of foreign taste. Phrygian art appears as far removed from the Greek style as from that of the ancient Assyrian or Persian art, or the peculiar and original style of the Lycians. The language of the inscriptions is purely Phrygian; and this language, with the alphabet that has preserved for us its few remains, was exclusively confined to the ancient kingdom of the dynasty of Midas. Throughout the whole extent of the country where these venerable remains of its indigenous people are found, Roman remains are very rare; it seems that the successive conquerors of the country overlooked these solitary valleys, where in later times Christian families sought refuge from Pagan, or possibly Moslem, persecution."

The inscriptions of the tombs of the valley of the Sangarius are written with an alphabet very like the most ancient specimens of the Greek. The character of these letters seems to belong to the seventh or eighth century before the Christian era. The language has some resemblance to Greek, but also contains elements of a very different nature. One of these inscriptions is the epitaph of a king, named Midas, who must have been one of the last of the dynasty whose

founder, also called Midas, appears in the Greek legends as a purely mythical personage.

The history of the kingdom of Lydia, much better known, requires to be treated of in a separate section.

Section III.—The Kingdom of Lydia and its Territory.

1. Between the foot of Mount Tmolus and the river Hermus, on the right bank of the Pactolus, rises a high mountain, towering over a large and fertile plain, into which the valleys of the Hermus and Caÿster open towards the east. At the foot of this mountain was situated the city of Sardis, now *Sert Kalessi*, the capital of the Lydian kings. The country had at first been inhabited by a Pelasgian race, called Mæonians, but soon a new race subjected and drove out the ancient inhabitants, and its kings ruled over the country until the time of the Persian conquest. The Lydians, who thus succeeded the Mæonians in the possession of Sardis, were of Semitic race. The ethnographical table of the 10th chapter of Genesis mentions them as a separate branch of that race, under the name of Lud; all the words of their language that have been preserved by Greek writers are incontestably Semitic. Three successive dynasties reigned over this nation, who are designated by the Greeks as Atyadæ, Heraclidæ, and Mermnadæ.

2. Of the dynasty of the Atyadæ we know nothing, but that they began to reign about the sixteenth century before the Christian era. National legends placed at their head the two mythical heroes, Lydus and Tyrrhenus, the latter personifying the Lydian colony that migrated westward by sea to the coasts of Italy, and became the progenitors of the aristocracy of Etruria, imposing themselves on the original Pelasgic inhabitants of that country.

The accession of the dynasty of the Heraclidæ, according to the statements of Herodotus,* who had access to native authorities, took place somewhere about 1200 B.C. The Lydian traditions, very precise as to all that related to that dynasty, attributed to it an Assyrian origin. It was said, according to Herodotus, to have been founded by Agron, son of Belus, son of Alcæus, son of Hercules, who came from the banks of the Tigris. We believe, with M Oppert, that this tradition has an historical foundation; Agron is a purely Assyrian word, meaning fugitive, and the names Herodotus gives for his three ancestors, Belus, Alcæus, Herakles, are translations of the name and titles of the Chaldæo-Assyrian Hercules, surnamed Samdan, "the strong, the

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* Her. i. 7.

powerful," who was sometimes assimilated with Bel, Bel-Adar-Samdan.

The founder of the Heraclide dynasty in Lydia is, therefore, clearly pointed out in the traditions collected by the father of history as an exiled and fugitive Assyrian prince, sprung from a family that regarded the god Adar as its author and special protector. If now we turn to the annals of Assyria, as related in our first volume, we shall see that just about the year 1200 B.C. there was reigning at Nineveh a king, the founder of the real power of that empire, named Adar-pal-ashir, "Adar protects his son;" * and, as we may see by the meaning of the name, descendants of that king would naturally be called in Greek, "descendants of Hercules." Agron, "the fugitive," seems, therefore, to have been a son of Adar-pal-ashir, a younger brother of Asshur-dayan, who, in consequence of events unknown to us, possibly after a contest with his brother, retired into Lydia, and there became king.

The connection of Asia Minor with Assyria commenced at a very early period. In the time of the Pharaoh Ramses II. (Sesostris), we have seen that the Hittites of Northern Syria united the Pisidians, the Lycians, the Mysians, the Dardanians, and the Mosynœci, in one confederation with the Rotennu, or Assyrians, to resist the extension of the Egyptian power.† The ancient indigenous sculptures of Asia Minor, specimens of which remain on the rocks at Nimphi, near Smyrna, and at Giaour-Kale, as well as the famous lion gate at Mycene, erected, tradition says, by the Cyclops of Lycia, exhibit a style of art directly copied from that of Assyria. The influence of that country over Asia Minor gradually increased, and rose almost to a suzerainty, in the period between the conquest of Armenia by the Ninevite kings and the decline of the Assyrian military power at the commencement of the eleventh century B.C., the time of the usurpation of Belkatirasshu, that is, at the very time when the Heraclide dynasty established itself in Lydia.

At the time of the siege of Troy, the arrival of Memnon the Ethiopian, or Asian Cushite—a real historical event—at the head of a body of Susianians to assist Priam, seems like help sent by the sovereign of the great Mesopotamian empire to his vassal in danger. Ctesias and Moses of Chorene state that Priam recognised the suzerainty of the king of Assyria, and that the annals of Nineveh mentioned the expedition to the Troad, to assist him against the Achæans; and there seems no good reason for refusing to believe their testimony.

3. The Heraclidæ gave twenty-two kings to Lydia, and occupied the throne for about five centuries. Candaules, the last of them, was assassinated, at the instigation of his wife, by Gyges, who founded the

* Vol. i. p. 373. † Ibid. p. 249.

dynasty of the Mermnadæ. Everyone knows the romantic but completely unhistorical story that Herodotus tells with regard to this revolution, which was apparently the result of a reaction of the old Pelasgic element of the Mæonians against the Semitic element, the Lydians properly so called; and this was the cause of the devotion exhibited by the Mermnadæ during their whole reign for the sanctuaries of Greece. The Carians actively assisted in, whilst part of the Lydians resisted this revolution.

The accession of Gyges, according to the chronological facts furnished by Herodotus, must have taken place in 713, and his death in 675 B.C. But we are here compelled to correct by ten years the dates of the Halicarnissian historian, for, in the inscriptions on a cylinder in the British Museum, Asshurbanipal, king of Assyria, mentions his relations with "Gugu, king of the Ludi," unquestionably Gyges, king of the Lydians, the embassy and presents received from him, in 667 or 666 B.C. The death of Candaules and the accession of the Mermnadæ must, therefore, be placed in 701, and the death of Gyges in 663 B.C., as the latter date is distinctly stated in the Assyrian cylinder.

With the accession of the Mermnadæ commences the truly historical period of the annals of Lydia. This kingdom had even then two enemies: the Greeks, who had established themselves on the coast, and cut off the access to the sea; and the barbarians, that is, the Thracians, who in roving bands were constantly crossing the Bosphorus, and also the Cimmerians, a last remnant of the Celts, who remained after the migration of the others of their race, and who, driven to the Caucasus by the Scythians, passed its defiles from time to time, and rushed, like a devastating torrent, into Asia Minor. For a long period these people kept the Lydians in constant terror by their sudden invasions. Ephesus saw them encamped on the banks of the Cayster; and during the reign of Candaules, in the year 700, the city of Magnesia, not far from the Meander, was completely destroyed by the Treres, a Cimmerian tribe. Even Sardis was taken. Callinos, the elegiac poet of Ephesus, who strove to be the Tyrtæus of Ionia, wrote at this time those admirable verses in the soft elegiac metre:—

"How long will you remain dejected? When, O young men, will warlike ardour fill your hearts? Are you not ashamed of this irresolution, in the face of the neighbouring people? You sit peacefully, while war spreads throughout the land. Let each, even while dying, cast his last javelin at the foe. Honour and glory call you on to fight for your country, your children, your wives. Death will inevitably come on that day when the Parcæ cut the fatal thread. Let each march forward with sword uplifted, and buckler advanced, when the battle begins. No man can escape death, even if he is born of the immortals. Many a man, who has passed safe through battle and the storm of

arrows, has been struck down at his own fireside. Such a one is not dear to his people, no regrets follow him to the tomb; but when the other falls, he is bewailed by small and great. The brave man's death is mourned by his people, and while he lives, he is the equal of the demi-gods. He is looked upon as the bulwark of his country, for he alone is equal to a host."

We do not know whether Callinos succeeded in inspiring the enervated Ionians with courage, but the Lydians did at last free themselves from the barbarians. Gyges, the murderer of Candaules, soon commenced, without being disturbed, the subjugation of the Greeks of Asia Minor; he possessed himself of Colophon, Magnesia, and Sipyla, and ravaged the territories of Smyrna and Miletus. He made himself so completely master of the Troad, that the Milesians had to ask his consent before building Abydos.

The end of his reign was unfortunate. Pressed by an invasion of the Cimmerians, he could free himself from them only by purchasing the assistance of the Assyrians — by submission to Ninevite supremacy. Again, in 663, on the call of the king of Assyria, who desired to punish Gyges for the help he had sent to the Egyptian, Psammetik, the Cimmerians ravaged all Lydia. Gyges died during this invasion, and his son, Ardys, could obtain the retreat of the barbarians only by the interference of the king of Assyria, to whom he made his submission and paid tribute.*

4. During the reign of Ardys (663 to 624 B.C.), the Cimmerians again returned, in 634, and captured the city, but not the citadel of Sardis. They soon retired, however, and this was their last invasion. Some years afterwards, the Scythians finally expelled them from the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, and drove them back to the plains north of the Black Sea, whence, gradually driven westward by the migrations of the Germanic people, they finally arrived at the extreme point of Europe, the country between the Baltic and the German Ocean, now Jutland, therefore at one time called "Chersonesus Cimbrica." Thence, many centuries afterwards, united with the Teutons, the advance guard of the Germans, they invaded Gaul, to be defeated by Marius and the Romans, who gave them the name of Cimbri.

After the departure of the Cimmerians, Ardys followed up the projects of his father against the Greek cities, and took Priene. Sadyattes (624—614) and Alyattes (614—558) continued the war, and directed their attacks chiefly against Miletus. Alyattes attempted to reduce it by famine. For five years the Lydian troops laid waste the fields. "When the harvest was ripe on the ground, he marched his army into Milesia to the sound of pipes and harps, and flutes masculine

* Vol. i. pp. 283, 408.

and feminine. The buildings that were scattered over the country he neither pulled down nor burnt, nor did he even tear away the doors, but left them standing as they were. He cut down, however, and utterly destroyed all the trees and all the corn throughout the land, and then returned to his own dominions. It was idle for his army to sit down before the place, as the Milesians were masters of the sea. The reason that he did not demolish their buildings was, that the inhabitants might be tempted to use them as homesteads, from which to go forth to sow and till their lands, and so each time that he invaded the country he might find something to plunder."* Chios alone, of all the Ionian cities, sent help to the Milesians.

The war was then prolonged for eleven years, when, in one of these expeditions, a temple of Minerva was burned by the Lydians, and almost immediately afterwards Alyattes was taken seriously ill; he sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and the reply was, "The king will not recover until he has rebuilt the temple of the goddess." Alyattes sent to ask a truce of the Milesians, to enable him to carry out the orders of the Pythia; and the intervention of Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, converted the truce into a peace, leaving the Greek city its entire independence. Alyattes was more fortunate as regards Smyrna, and took that city some time afterwards.

He next turned his arms against the indigenous people of the interior of Asia Minor, and subjugated in a few years Phrygia and Cappadocia. His frontier then adjoined that of the Median Empire, and soon, as we have already related, war broke out between him and Cyaxares. It lasted six years, and terminated with the battle of the eclipse (597). The Medes gained part of Cappadocia, the Halys became the boundary of the two empires, and the peace and alliance was cemented by the marriage of Aryenis, daughter of Alyattes, with Astyages, son of Cyaxares.

5. Alyattes, after a reign of fifty-eight years, left, in 558, the throne to his son, Crœsus, who carried on the enterprise of his predecessors against the Greeks of Asia Minor. In vain Thales of Miletus advised the Ionians to nominate one common senate, to sit at Teos, a central position, and thence to govern all Ionia as one city; they were not willing to renounce their municipal independence, and thus permitted their cities to fall, one by one, before Crœsus. Ephesus, governed by Pindaros, son of one of his own sisters, was the first to fall into his power, although the inhabitants, to put their city under the protection of Diana, whose temple was a short distance off, had connected their walls by a cord to the altar of the goddess. Crœsus next made war on the Ionians and Æolians, giving, according to Herodotus, good reasons

* HER. i. 17.

for his hostilities when he had them, and when he had none, assigning frivolous pretexts. When he had subjugated all the Greeks of Asia, and compelled them to pay tribute, Crœsus wished to equip a fleet and attack the islands; but Bias of Priene, or, according to others, Pittacus of Mitylene, who were both at his court, dissuaded him, by showing him the strong probability of defeat.

Crœsus did not, however, give up the idea of making fresh conquests. At this time, Cyrus had just destroyed the Median Empire, and was carrying out his victorious expeditions in the vast regions between the Hindoo Koosh and the river Halys. Crœsus, closely allied with Astyages, burned to avenge his brother-in-law. He could not, moreover, see, without disquiet, the rapid and threatening increase of the Persian power, and must have expected that the force of circumstances would necessarily, sooner or later, bring about a struggle between his own empire and that of the young conqueror who had arisen in Asia. To provide against this contingency, he desired to make himself master of all Asia Minor as far as the Halys, so as to be able to oppose to Cyrus the forces of a united and compact monarchy, able to contend against the newly-created power of the Persians. Several successive fortunate campaigns enabled him to carry out this plan, and gave him possession of all the countries between the Hellespont, the Black Sea, the Halys, and the chain of the Taurus. The Mysians, Minandinians, Bithynians, and Paphlagonians were in a very short time brought under the Lydian yoke, for the whole reign of Crœsus lasted but fourteen years.

To the south of the Taurus, the Carians and Pamphylians were also subdued; Lycia retained its independence, and Crœsus did not venture to attack Cilicia, once subject to the Assyrians, and which seems to have been at this time under Babylonian government, not having regained independence since the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar in Syria and the adjoining countries.

War at this epoch was always accompanied by plunder, and thus the wealth of the conqueror and of his country became so great that to this day it has remained proverbial. Lydia, moreover, was rich in precious metals; a large supply of gold was drawn from the washing of the sands of the Pactolus; Crœsus had also opened gold mines in Pergamus. He it was who struck the first gold coins known to the ancient world, some specimens of which have been preserved.

The Lydians were a commercial and industrious people; they were the earliest merchants in the Mediterranean, and were celebrated for their scented ointments, their carpets (a tradition of the latter is preserved in the famous carpets of Smyrna), and for the skilfulness of the slaves from their country. But the deep depravity of their manners had deprived them of the energy requisite for contending against such a

manly and courageous race as the Persians, and when subdued, they were remarkable for their quiet submission to their foreign masters. After the time of Cyrus, the Lydians and Phrygians were always timid and submissive, and presented a great contrast to the Mysians, rough mountaineers, whom it was always hard to keep in subjection.

Section IV.—Cyrus and Crœsus—Fall of the Lydian Empire (545—544).

1. In the midst of all his prosperity, Crœsus had one great grief, his favourite son, Atys, was killed while hunting (547). For two years he indulged his grief, without attending to the cares of government; but the progress of Cyrus in the part of Asia Minor beyond the Halys, in Colchis, and among the Chalybes and neighbouring nations, compelled him to withdraw his attention from his absorbing grief. Danger was approaching the Lydian Empire, and menacing almost his frontier. Crœsus thought it wise to assume the offensive, before the power of the Persian conqueror became even more formidable, and before Cyrus came to seek him out; but he desired first to consult the oracles of Greece. Those of Delphi and Oropus predicted that if he crossed the Halys "he would destroy a great empire." Crœsus interpreted this response according to his own wishes, and again enquired if his empire, constantly increasing, would be of long duration. The Pythia, it is said, replied—

"Wait till the time shall come when a mule is monarch of Media;
Then, thou delicate Lydian, away to the pebbles of Hermus;
Haste, oh! haste thee away, nor blush to behave like a coward."*

Crœsus, fully persuaded that the Medes would never put a mule on the throne, concluded that neither he nor his descendants would ever be deprived of their crown, and so, without feeling any apprehension, he concluded a useless alliance with the Lacedemonians, and commenced hostilities against the Persians, in spite of the prudent counsels of his minister, Sandanis.

2. Crœsus crossed the Halys, having lowered its water by means of a canal, constructed by the advice of Thales; occupied the part of Cappadocia that the fall of the Median Empire had thrown into the hands of Cyrus, and transported the inhabitants into various parts of Asia Minor. Cyrus, on the receipt of the intelligence, advanced at the head of his troops; a great battle was fought between the Lydians and Persians in the district of Pteria. The loss

* Her. i. 55.

on both sides was very considerable, and night separated the combatants without victory having declared for either.

Crœsus then retired to his capital. Believing the campaign closed for that year, he sent his troops to their homes, desiring his allies, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Lacedæmonians, to send their contingents to Sardis in the spring. But Cyrus immediately invaded Lydia, and soon appeared under the walls of Sardis. Crœsus had no troops with him but the Lydian cavalry. No troops in the world were braver, or better trained for fight, and with these he sallied out to try his fortune in the field. The battle took place in the great plain of Thymbria, before the city. "When Cyrus beheld the Lydians arranging themselves in order of battle on this plain, fearful of the strength of their cavalry, he adopted a device which Harpagus, one of the Medes, suggested to him. He collected together all the camels that had come in the train of his army, to carry the provisions and the baggage, and taking off their loads, he mounted riders upon them accoutred as horsemen. These he commanded to advance in front of his other troops against the Lydian horse; behind them were to follow the foot soldiers, and last of all the cavalry. When his arrangements were complete, he gave his troops orders to slay all the other Lydians who came in their way without mercy, but to spare Crœsus and not kill him, even if he should be seized and offer resistance.

"The reason why Cyrus opposed his camels to the enemy's horse was because the horse has a natural dread of the camel, and cannot abide either the sight or the smell of that animal. By this stratagem he hoped to make Crœsus's horse useless to him, the horse being what he chiefly depended on for victory. The two armies then joined battle, and immediately the Lydian war-horses, seeing and smelling the camels, turned round and galloped off; and so it came to pass that all Crœsus's hopes withered away. The Lydians, however, behaved manfully. As soon as they understood what was happening, they leaped off their horses and engaged with the Persians on foot. The combat was long, but at last, after a great slaughter on both sides, the Lydians turned and fled. They were driven within their walls, and the Persians laid siege to Sardis."* Crœsus, hoping that the siege would last a long time, sent off to his allies to request immediate help. The troops of the Lacedæmonians were all ready, and the vessels equipped, when another messenger arrived with the news that Sardis was taken and Crœsus a prisoner. Cyrus had promised a large reward to the first man who should mount the wall.

A certain Hyrœades, a Mardian, looking one day at one face of the citadel, which was not fortified because it was regarded as inaccessible,

* HER. i. 80.

saw a Lydian soldier let himself down to fetch his helmet that had fallen, and go up again by the same path. He followed this man's steps, some Persians climbed up after him, and after them a multitude of soldiers; and, in this way, on the fourteenth day of the siege, the city was taken. The Lydian empire was thus overturned, and their king became the prisoner of the new master of Asia, who treated him with generosity, and even frequently consulted him on his enterprises.

3. But such a simple story on the fall of a great empire, did not at all suit the ideas of the Greeks. They soon compiled the marvellous legend preserved by Herodotus, which we shall transcribe. This is one of those beautiful stories in which are brought into full play the oracles, the credulity of the people, the gods saving the reputation of their priests, and, through all, the moral ideas of the highly poetical author.

"With respect to Crœsus himself, this is what befell him at the taking of the town. He had a son, a worthy youth, whose only defect was that he was deaf and dumb. In the days of his prosperity, Crœsus had done the utmost that he could for him, and, among other plans which he had devised, had sent to Delphi to consult the oracle on his behalf. The answer which he had received from the Pythoness ran thus:—

"'Lydian, wide-ruling monarch, thou wondrous simple Crœsus,
Wish not ever to hear in thy palace the voice thou hast prayed for,
Uttering intelligent sounds. Far better thy son should be silent!
Ah! woe worth the day when thine ear shall first list to his accents.'

"When the town was taken, one of the Persians was just going to kill Crœsus, not knowing who he was. Crœsus saw the man coming, but under the pressure of his affliction did not care to avoid the blow, not minding whether or no he died beneath the stroke. Then this son of his, who was voiceless, beholding the Persian as he rushed towards Crœsus, in the agony of his fear and grief burst into speech, and said, 'Man, do not kill Crœsus.' This was the first time that he had ever spoken a word, but afterwards he retained the power of speech for the remainder of his life.

"Thus was Sardis taken by the Persians, and Crœsus himself fell into their hands, after having reigned fourteen years and been besieged in his capital fourteen days; thus, too, did Crœsus fulfil the oracle which said that he should destroy a mighty empire,—by destroying his own. Then the Persians who had made Crœsus prisoner brought him before Cyrus. Now, a vast pile had been raised by his orders, and Crœsus, laden with fetters, was placed upon it, and with him twice seven of the sons of the Lydians. I know not whether Cyrus was minded to make an offering of the first-fruits to some god or other, or whether he had vowed a vow, and was performing it; or whether, as

may well be, he had heard that Crœsus was a holy man, and so wished to see if any of the heavenly powers would appear to save him from being burnt alive. However it might be, Cyrus was thus engaged, and Crœsus was already on the pile, when it entered his mind, in the depth of his woe, that there was a divine warning in the words which had come to him from the lips of Solon, 'No one while he lives is happy.' When this thought smote him, he fetched a long breath, and breaking silence, groaned out aloud, thrice uttering the name of Solon. Cyrus caught the sounds, and bade the interpreters inquire of Crœsus who it was he called on. They drew near and asked him, but he held his peace, and for a long time made no answer to their questionings, until at length, forced to say something, he exclaimed, 'One I would give much to see converse with every monarch.' Not knowing what he meant by this reply, the interpreters begged him to explain himself; and as they pressed for an answer, and grew to be troublesome, he told them how, a long time before, Solon, an Athenian, had come and seen all his splendour and made light of it; and how whatever he had said to him had fallen out exactly as he foreshadowed, although it was nothing that especially concerned him, but applied to all mankind alike, and most to those who seemed to themselves happy. Meanwhile, as he thus spoke, the pile was lighted, and the outer portion began to blaze. Then Cyrus, hearing from the interpreters what Crœsus had said, relented, bethinking himself that he, too, was a man, and that it was a fellow-man, and one who had once been as blessed by fortune as himself, that he was burning alive; afraid, moreover, of retribution, and full of the thought that whatever is human is insecure. So he bade them quench the blazing fire as quickly as they could, and take down Crœsus and the other Lydians, which they tried to do, but the flames were not to be mastered.

"Then the Lydians say that Crœsus, perceiving by the efforts made to quench the fire that Cyrus had relented, and seeing also that all was in vain, and that the men could not get the fire under, called with a loud voice upon the god Apollo, and prayed him, if he had ever received at his hands any acceptable gift, to come to his aid, and deliver him from his present danger. As thus with tears he besought the god, suddenly, though up to that time the sky had been clear and the day without a breath of wind, dark clouds gathered, and the storm burst over their heads with rain of such violence that the flames were speedily extinguished. Cyrus, convinced by this that Crœsus was a good man and a favourite of heaven, asked him, after he was taken off the pile, 'Who it was that had persuaded him to lead an army into his country, and so become his foe rather than continue his friend?' To which Crœsus made answer as follows: 'What I did, O king, was to thy advantage and to my own loss. If there be blame, it rests with the god of the

Greeks, who encouraged me to begin the war. No one is so foolish as to prefer war to peace, in which, instead of sons burying their fathers, fathers bury their sons. But the gods willed it so.'*

"After these words, Cyrus ordered his fetters to be taken off, and seated him beside himself. At this time the Persians were plundering Sardis. Crœsus advised his conqueror to put a stop to the proceedings of his soldiers, and pointed out to him the method by which he should take away those riches that would only corrupt their manners and lead to revolt. Cyrus was much pleased with this advice, and in return promised the captive king any boon he might ask. 'Oh, my lord!' said he, 'if thou wilt suffer me to send these fetters to the god of the Greeks, whom I once honoured above all other gods, and ask him if it is his wont to deceive his benefactors; that will be the highest favour thou canst confer on me.' Cyrus, upon this, inquired what charge he had to make against the god. Then Crœsus gave him a full account of all his projects, and of the answers of the oracle, and of the offerings which he had sent, on which he dwelt especially, and told him how it was the encouragement given him by the oracle which had led him to make war upon Persia. All this he related, and at the end again besought permission to reproach the god with his behaviour. Cyrus answered with a laugh, 'This I readily grant thee, and whatever else thou shalt at any time ask of my hands.'

"Crœsus finding his request allowed, sent certain Lydians to Delphi, enjoining them to lay his fetters upon the threshold of the temple, and ask the god, 'If he were not ashamed of having encouraged him, as the destined destroyer of the empire of Cyrus, to begin a war with Persia, of which such were the first-fruits?' As they said this, they were to point to the fetters; and, further, they were to inquire, 'If it was the wont of the Greek gods to be ungrateful?'

"The Lydians went to Delphi and delivered their message, on which the Pythoness is said to have replied—'Crœsus has no right to complain with respect to the oracular answer which he received. For when the god told him that, if he attacked the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire, he ought, if he had been wise, to have sent again and inquired which empire was meant, that of Cyrus or his own; but if he neither understood what was said, nor took the trouble to seek for enlightenment, he has only himself to blame for the result. Besides, he had misunderstood the last answer which had been given him about the mule. Cyrus was that mule. For the parents of Cyrus were of different races and of different conditions: his mother, a Median princess, daughter of king Astyages; and his father, a Persian and a subject, who, though so far beneath her in all respects, had married his royal mistress.'

* HER. i. 85, *seq.*

"Such was the answer of the Pythoness. The Lydians returned to Sardis and communicated it to Crœsus, who confessed, on hearing it, that the fault was his, not the god's. Such was the way in which Ionia was first conquered, and so was the empire of Crœsus brought to a close."

SECTION V.—SUBJUGATION OF THE GREEK CITIES OF IONIA, AND OF THE REST OF ASIA MINOR (544—539).

1. IMMEDIATELY on the conquest of Lydia, the Greek colonies offered to recognise Cyrus on the same terms as they had Crœsus; but the conqueror replied by the famous fable of the fisherman, who, unable to attract the fish by playing on his flute, caught them all with his net. He made, however, an exception in favour of Miletus, requiring no unconditional surrender from the inhabitants of that great city, but merely the same tribute that they had paid to Crœsus, and thus detached them from the cause of their countrymen.

The other Ionians of the coast, for those of the islands were safe from all attack, fortified their cities, and met together to organise their resistance at the Panionium, their common sanctuary, dedicated to the Heliconian Neptune. There it was resolved to request help from the Spartans. The Spartans refused; but desirous of knowing the state of affairs in Ionia, and thinking that their name would have some weight with Cyrus, they despatched ambassadors into Asia Minor. One of them went as far as Sardis, to inform the king of Persia that the Spartans would not permit him to do any harm to any of the Greek cities. Cyrus received the message with scorn, and replied that it was for the Spartans to dread his wrath. He committed the government of Sardis to a Persian, named Tabalus; and having charged Pactyas, a Lydian, to transport the treasures of Crœsus and of Lydia into Persia, returned to Ecbatana, taking Crœsus with him.

2. No sooner was he gone, than Pactyas raised the Lydians in insurrection, and besieged Tabalus in the citadel of Sardis. Cyrus then sent the Mede, Mazares, with a large army into the country. Mazares encountered no resistance; and in order to prevent another revolt, disarmed all the Lydians. Pactyas took refuge in Cyme, in Æolia; Mazares summoned the people to deliver him up. The Cymæans, fearing, on the one hand, the vengeance of the Persians, and, on the other, unwilling to offend the gods by giving up a suppliant, sent Pactyas into Chios, where the people surrendered him to the Persian general in exchange for the district of Atarneus, on the Lydian coast, opposite Lesbos.

Mazares then marched against the Greek cities which had sent help to

the rebels. Priene was taken, and the inhabitants sold as slaves. He ravaged the valley of the Meander and the territory of Magnesia, but a short time afterwards fell sick and died.

3. Harpagus was sent to replace him, and to continue the war against the Ionians. He took their cities by building up against the walls mounds of earth of equal height. Phocæa was thus besieged, but its inhabitants set a wonderful example. Seeing that resistance was no longer possible, they requested Harpagus to withdraw his troops, whilst they deliberated on the terms he had offered them. They then launched their ships, embarked their wives and children and the statues of their gods, and sailed away for Chios. When they arrived there, they wished to purchase from that people the Œnussæ islands, but fearful of the consequences to their commerce from the neighbourhood of so active and enterprising a people, the Chians refused. The fugitives again set sail, and retired, part to Alalia, in Corsica, and part to Marseilles, in both of which places they had a few years before founded colonies. Before leaving Asia Minor for ever, they returned to Phocæa, and surprised and killed the Persian garrison. Then, having denounced terrible imprecations on anyone who should separate from the fleet, they cast into the sea a mass of red-hot iron, swearing never to return to Phocæa until the iron should rise to the surface in the same state that it was thrown in. At the moment of leaving, however, the courage of part of this people failed, and they returned to the city; the rest sailed away westward.

4. The Teians followed the example of the Phocæans, and migrated into Thrace, to rebuild and inhabit the city of Abdera, founded some time before by Timesius of Clazomenæ. The other cities successively fell into the hands of the Persians, and accepted their laws; many of the inhabitants of the islands, who had territories on the main land, as had the Chians and Lesbians, attempted to disarm the anger of Cyrus by a voluntary submission. Miletus only, in consequence of the treaty with Cyrus, was not disturbed.

Caria and Lycia shared the fate of Ionia. In Lycia, the city of Arina, afterwards called Xanthus by the Greeks, distinguished itself by its obstinate defence. The inhabitants, when no longer able to resist, burned themselves in their houses, with their wives and families. The Caunians emulated this heroic deed. Harpagus, as a reward for his services, was made satrap of Lycia, as an hereditary sovereign, vassal of the Persian king. Recent explorations there have brought to light highly important monuments of one of his descendants, Caias, which are now in the British Museum.

SECTION VI.—CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRIES BEYOND THE HINDOO KOOSH (543—540).

1. WHILST Harpagus was engaged in the subjugation of Asia Minor, Herodotus tells us* that Cyrus personally subdued all the nations of Upper Asia. These few words contain all the information that classical history has bequeathed us on the subject of the most important conquests of the founder of the Persian monarchy, the subjugation of the nations inhabiting the countries situated between the chain of the Hindoo Koosh on the north, the Carmanian deserts on the west, the Erythræan Sea on the south, and the Parsyan mountains to the east. These distant nations had not been subdued before, either by the Assyrians or by the Medes; from the time of Cyrus, they appear as dependencies of the Persian empire. During the interval between the wars in Lydia and in Babylonia, the conqueror was occupied in reducing these countries.

There are found the rich provinces of Aria, Drangiana, and Arrachosia, the Afghanistan of our days. They were inhabited by Arian tribes, of the same branch as those who had conquered India. The Zoroastrian reform had not reached them, neither was Brahminism, with its mystic pantheism and its system of caste, established among them, as in India. Their religion was, therefore, very nearly that of the Vedas.

The language spoken in this region was one of the common idioms, derived from the ancient Vedic Sanscrit, the Pali, destined in later times to become the sacred tongue of a large part of the Buddhist countries. A peculiar alphabet of Semitic origin, and different from those of India, was used in the whole of this immense district, known to classical geographers by the name of Aria. The Arian nations between the Hindoo Koosh and the Parsyan mountains, separating Aria from the valley of the Indus, do not seem, judging from the short time required for their conquest, to have offered any serious resistance to Cyrus.

The people who lived on the slopes of the Indian Caucasus, Sattagydæ and Aparytæ (in Sanscrit *Parada*), were also conquered by the Persians; and finally, from the time of Cyrus, Persian dominion extended beyond the Hindoo Koosh into the country now called Cabul, over the whole valley of the Copheh (*Kubha*), and the country of the Gandarii (*Ghandara*), so that the empire of the Achæmenians extended to the upper course of the Indus. The principal cities of these last provinces were—Kapiça, afterwards called Alexandria of the Caucasus; Kabura, or Ortospana, now Cabul; Nagara, now Jellalabad; and Purushapura, now Peshawur.

* HER. i. 177.

2. To the south of Aria, along the barren and harbourless coast of the Erythræan Sea, the Arians had not spread. There was the country of Gedrosia, the Beloochistan of our times, where Herodotus places his Asiatic Ethiopians, the last remains of the primitive inhabitants of the race of Cush, driven into this district by the invasion of the Japhetic tribes. They were in just such a state of poverty and barbarism as the inhabitants of the same country now are, and it would seem that we must regard the latter as the descendants of the ancient inhabitants. In spite, however, of this poverty, which might have seemed likely to protect them, they were conquered by Cyrus.

The Persian invader changed none of the institutions and customs established in these countries before his time; he contented himself with imposing permanent tributes, with leaving garrisons in the most important strategic positions, and with levying contingents for his armies. His empire was, in fact, in its character essentially military.

SECTION VII.—DESTRUCTION OF THE BABYLONIAN MONARCHY (539, 538).

1. CYRUS, marching from conquest to conquest, aspired to the dominion of all Asia. To realise more than any other king had ventured even to dream of, it remained only to destroy the Chaldæan empire of Babylon, founded by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar on the ruins of the old Assyrian empire, and already in a state of decay. If Babylon were taken, its provinces would necessarily fall into the hands of the Persian chief, and all then known Asia, excepting distant India and the steppes of the wandering Turanian Scyths north of the Caspian Sea, would obey the orders of Cyrus. And these too, perhaps, might in their turn be subjugated, were Babylon once taken.

Having achieved the conquest of Aria, he at once commenced his movement against the Chaldæans, and marched directly on the capital (539), believing, and rightly so, that he needed only to capture the city to become master of the whole empire. At the head of his army he left Ecbatana, where was his usual residence; as in Persia, properly so called, there was no capital suited to the greatness of his power and grandeur, and soon arrived on the banks of the Gyndes, an affluent of the Tigris. In attempting the passage of this river, one of the white horses, usually called sacred, brought from Nisæa, in the north of Media, at great expense, was carried away by the current and drowned. Cyrus, enraged, swore that he would make the stream so weak and shallow that even the women could cross it without wetting their knees. He therefore delayed his expedition, divided his army into two bodies,

and dug, on each side of the river, 180 canals, into which he diverted the Gyndes.

It would seem, at first sight, that an uninterrupted course of success had turned the head of Cyrus, and that, like the weak-minded Xerxes, he wished to punish nature herself when disobedient to his orders; but perhaps it may be that Cyrus was here rehearsing the siege operations he intended to conduct against Babylon, with the view of making his soldiers as skilful with entrenching tools as with their weapons. The whole summer was consumed in these works. In the following spring, Cyrus appeared before Babylon, defeated the army that advanced against him, burst through the walls of the vast entrenched camp of Nebuchadnezzar, the enormous extent of which rendered its effective defence impossible, and laid siege to the city itself, where Belsharussur (the Belshazzar of Daniel), son of the king, had taken the command, whilst Nabonahid shut himself up in Borsippa.

2. The Babylonians, who had long perceived that they were threatened, had made great preparations for defence, had collected provisions, dug new ditches, and repaired their fortifications, and did not, therefore, dread the siege. We have already related, in the Book on the history of Babylon,* how Cyrus brought it to a successful termination. He placed his best troops, half where the river entered, and half where it left the city; with the remainder he proceeded to the Lake of Nitocris, and following the example of the Queen of Babylon, turned the river by the canal into the lake; the water ran in and left the bed of the Euphrates fordable, and by this road the Persians entered the city. If the Babylonians had discovered the plan of Cyrus in time, they might easily have destroyed the whole Persian army. They need only have shut the bronze gates leading to the river, and have manned the walls on either side, to have overwhelmed the Persians with their missiles. But the enemy came at the moment when they were least expected. The Babylonians were celebrating a feast, and immersed in their pleasures, entirely forgot the impending danger. Thus a general oversecurity betrayed Babylon. Belsharussur was killed, and Nabonahid, at the news of the capture of his capital, ventured on no further resistance, but surrendered himself prisoner. The Chaldæan empire thus fell, and, as the prophets had foretold, the ruin of Babylon avenged that of Jerusalem. On the capture of the great city, all the provinces of the empire submitted without resistance to the conqueror, and were incorporated with the Persian empire.

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* Vol. i. p. 489.

Section VIII.—The Release of the Hebrews (536).

1. Prepared by the voice of their prophets, the Jews at Babylon, who were the chief and best of the nation, had followed with the strongest sympathy the progressive increase of the power of Cyrus, and had prayed for his decisive victory over the Chaldæan monarchy, believing him to be the anointed one of Jehovah—the chosen one, who was to humble the pride of Babylon and be the liberator of the chosen race. Providence had, indeed, called the Persian conqueror to this glorious mission, for which he was naturally prepared. Mazdeism had, in fact, many points of resemblance to the Mosaic law. The religion of the Zend Avesta, in the true spirit of its principles, was as much opposed to idolatry as that of the Pentateuch, though it did not, like the latter, teach the absolute unity of the Deity. Cyrus, therefore, must have been induced, by the pure spirituality of the religion of the Hebrews, to show greater sympathy for them than for the other nations of the great Babylonian empire.

Two years only, therefore, after his capture of Babylon, in 536, he acceded to the petitions addressed to him by the Hebrews who were scattered throughout his dominions, and published a decree, permitting the return of the exiles and the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. The text of this edict has been preserved in the Book of Ezra (i. 2—4) —"Jehovah the God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel (he is the God), which is at Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the freewill offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem."

2. An Israelite, named Sheshbazzar, was appointed by the king to be governor of Jerusalem and of the adjoining district; for, notwithstanding the destruction of the Temple and all the ravages of Nebuchadnezzar, there still remained many inhabitants in the ancient capital of the kingdom of Judah. By order of Cyrus, the treasurer, Mithredath (Mithridates), gave to Sheshbazzar the sacred vessels of silver and gold carried away from the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar, and preserved as trophies at Babylon. The new governor departed with a number of the exiles in his train, and soon arrived at Jerusalem, and commenced the building of a new temple. But the work proceeded slowly, hindered by the jealousy of the hereditary enemies of the Jews — Ammonites, Moabites, and Idumeans, to whom were added the Cutheans, established at Samaria by the kings of Assyria, and who could not

without jealousy see the re-appearance of a nation whom they had believed for ever crushed when Jerasalem was taken. Very little had been done at the time of the death of Cyrus; and his successor, at the instigation of the Cutheans of Samaria, almost immediately on his accession to the throne, directed that the works on the Temple should be suspended till further orders.

SECTION IX.—END OF THE REIGN OF CYRUS (536—529).

1. CYRUS reigned peaceably for eight years after the capture of Babylon. In 529, whether from an insatiable desire for conquest, or to gratify the ancient hatred of the Iranian to the Turanian races, or from the wish to chastise the incursions of troublesome neighbours, he undertook a new war, Herodotus says against the Massagetæ, Ctesias, the Derbicæ; but these undoubtedly were a tribe of the same people. The Massagetæ, the Magog of the Bible, a Turanian or Turkish tribe, inhabited the steppes to the north of the Jaxartes. In this war the Persian conqueror lost his life, and Herodotus has preserved the story which he heard in his travels in Media.

2. According to this, Cyrus the more readily attacked this people because they were governed by a woman, whom he hoped to be able to conquer with ease. He assembled a numerous army, threw bridges across the Jaxartes, and prepared to cross the river. The queen, Tomyris, sent him a herald, to propose a fair battle between the two armies on whichever bank he might choose. He chose the side of the Massagetæ; but instead of preparing to fight fairly, he set a trap, by the advice of Crœsus, who accompanied him in the expedition. This was to leave his camp almost undefended, and in it every kind of luxurious food and drink, so that the Massagetæ might easily plunder it, when he might suddenly fall on them with the bulk of his army, placed in ambush for the purpose.

"Cyrus* having advanced a day's march from the river, did as Crœsus had advised him, and leaving the worthless portion of his army in the camp, drew off with his good troops towards the river. Soon afterwards a detachment of the Massagetæ, one-third of their entire army, led by Spargapises, son of the queen Tomyris, coming up, fell upon the body which had been left behind by Cyrus, and on their resistance put them to the sword. Then, seeing the banquet prepared, they sat down and began to feast. When they had eaten and drunk their fill, and were now sunk in sleep, the Persians under Cyrus arrived,

* HER. i. 211, 212, 213, 214.

slaughtered a great multitude, and made even a larger number prisoners. Among these last was Spargapises himself.

"When Tomyris heard what had befallen her son and her army, she sent a herald to Cyrus, who thus addressed the conqueror—'Thou bloodthirsty Cyrus, pride not thyself on this poor success: it was the grape-juice, which, when ye drink it, makes you so mad, and as ye swallow it down brings up to your lips such bold and wicked words—it was this poison wherewith thou didst ensnare my child, and so overcamest him, not in fair, open fight. Now hearken what I advise, and be sure I advise thee for thy good. Restore my son to me, and get thee from the land unharmed, triumphant over a third part of the host of the Massagetæ. Refuse, and I swear by the sun, the sovereign lord of the Massagetæ, bloodthirsty as thou art, I will give thee thy fill of blood.'

"To the words of this message Cyrus paid no manner of regard. As for Spargapises, the son of the queen, when the wine went off and he saw the extent of his calamity, he made request to Cyrus to release him from his bonds; then, when his prayer was granted, and the fetters were taken from his limbs, as soon as his hands were free, he destroyed himself.

"Tomyris, when she found that Cyrus paid no heed to her advice, collected all the forces of her kingdom and gave him battle. Of all the combats in which the barbarians have engaged among themselves, I reckon this to have been the fiercest. The following, I understand, was the manner of it:—First, the two armies stood apart and shot their arrows at each other; then, when their quivers were empty, they closed and fought hand-to-hand with lances and daggers; and thus they continued fighting for a length of time, neither choosing to give ground. At length the Massagetæ prevailed. The greater part of the army of the Persians was destroyed, and Cyrus himself fell, after reigning nine-and-twenty years. Search was made among the slain, by order of the queen, for the body of Cyrus, and when it was found she took a skin, and filling it full of human blood, she dipped the head of Cyrus in the gore, saying, as she thus insulted the corse, 'I live and have conquered thee in fight, and yet by thee am I ruined, for thou tookest my son with guile; but thus I make good my threat, and give thee thy fill of blood.'"

3. The Persians, however, succeeded in recovering the body of Cyrus, and he was magnificently buried at Pasargadæ. The remains of his mausoleum still remain on the site of that city.* Around it are twenty-

* A full account of this tomb is given in Ker Porter's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 485—508. It is now known by the name of the Tomb of the Mother of Solomon!

four large monolithic columns, and on bas-reliefs are sculptured the almost deified image of the king, represented as the Persians depicted spirits glorified in another life, and admitted to sit with the Amshaspands and heavenly Yazatas; it is furnished with four large wings. Above his head hovers the image of Ormuzd. A short inscription is added to the figure in these words, "I am Cyrus, the king, the Achæmenian."

CHAPTER VI.

CAMBYSES—THE FALSE SMERDIS—DARIUS, SON OF HYSTASPES.

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SECTION I.—CAMBYSES—THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT (529—525).

1. CYRUS left two sons. The eldest, Cambyses (Kambujiya), succeeded him; the younger, named Smerdis by Herodotus, but whose name would be more correctly given as Bardias, as its original form was Bardiya, was made governor of Bactria, Parthia, Chorasmia, and Carmania, with an exemption from all tribute, reserving only the political supremacy of his brother. As soon as he was in possession of the empire, and had repaired the consequences of the disaster in the land of the Massagetæ, Cambyses, desirous, like his father, of distinguishing himself by conquests, turned his eyes on Egypt. The riches of that country had always attracted Asiatic kings, and the Persians had also

reason to resent the assistance which the Egyptians had given to Crœsus. Herodotus * assigns also other motives for this expedition, and amongst them, a personal insult offered to Cambyses by Ahmes, or Amasis, who had sent him Nitetis, daughter of Uahprahet, in marriage, in place of his own daughter, whom Cambyses had demanded. But what finally decided the Persian king was the arrival of Phanes, an officer of the Greek mercenaries, who, having been ill-treated by Ahmes, took refuge at the court of Cambyses, gave him full information as to the state of the country, and pointed out to him the way to carry out his plans successfully. Cambyses, by the advice of this Greek, made an alliance and exchanged pledges with the Arabs, who had command of the road to the valley of the Nile.

2. "The Arabs," says Herodotus,† "keep such pledges more religiously than almost any other people. They plight faith with the forms following. When two men would swear a friendship, they stand on each side of a third: he with a sharp stone makes a cut on the inside of the hand of each near the middle finger, and, taking a piece from their dress, dips it in the blood of each, and moistens therewith seven stones lying in the midst, calling the while on Bacchus and Urania. After this, the man who makes the pledge commends the stranger (or the citizen, if citizen he be) to all his friends, and they deem themselves bound to stand to the engagement. . . . When, therefore, the Arabian had pledged his faith to the messengers of Cambyses, he straightway contrived as follows:—he filled a number of camel's skins with water, and loading therewith all the live camels that he possessed, drove them into the desert, and awaited the coming of the army."

This army was very numerous, it was chiefly composed of native Persians, with some bodies of Ionian and Æolian Greeks, who were intended to oppose the Greek mercenaries of Egypt. A large fleet, fitted out in the Phœnician ports and manned by Phœnician sailors, followed along shore the march of the army, and steered for the coast of the Delta. The preparations had occupied some years, and the expedition started in the commencement of the year 525.

3. Ahmes having died, his son Psammetik III. (the Psammenitus of Herodotus) succeeded him. He marched to meet his enemy as far as the Pelusiac branch of the Nile. The Greeks and Carians in his pay, to avenge the treason of Phanes on his children, whom he had left in the country when he himself started for Persia, brought them to the camp, and having placed a cup in view of their father between the armies, cut the childrens' throats. They then mixed their blood with wine in the cup, drank the mixture, and swore a terrible oath not to give back a step. The battle soon began, and according to one well

* HER. iii. 1. † HER. iii. 8.

known but unhistorical tradition, Cambyses placed before the first line of his army, cats, and other animals regarded as sacred by the Egyptians; the latter, unable to shoot at the enemy for fear of injuring the animals, soon took to flight. But the Greek and Carian mercenaries had no such scruples, and made a long and stubborn resistance, and the battle was fiercely contested. The superiority of the Persians in numbers, however, at last prevailed, and the shattered remains of the army of Psammetik fled in disorder to Memphis.

"On the field where this battle was fought," says Herodotus,* "I saw a very wonderful thing, which the natives pointed out to me. The bones of the slain lie scattered upon the field in two lots, those of the Persians in one place by themselves, as the bodies lay at the first—those of the Egyptians in another place, apart from them. If, then, you strike the Persian skulls, even with a pebble, they are so weak, that you break a hole in them; but the Egyptian skulls are so strong, that you may smite them with a stone, and you will scarcely break them in. They gave me the following reason for this difference, which seemed to me likely enough:—The Egyptians (they said) from early childhood have the head shaved, and so by the action of the sun the skull becomes thick and hard."

4. Cambyses, the conqueror, sent a herald, a Persian, to the Egyptians in Memphis, to offer them terms. He went up the river in a vessel from Mitylene. As soon as the Egyptians saw him enter Memphis, they rushed in a body from the citadel, destroyed the ship, tore in pieces all who had manned her, and carried their limbs as trophies to the citadel. The Persians, enraged at this flagrant violation of the law of nations, laid siege at once to and very soon took the place.

5. "Ten days after the fort had fallen,† Cambyses resolved to try the spirit of Psammenitus, the Egyptian king, whose whole reign had been but six months. He, therefore, had him set up in one of the suburbs, and many other Egyptians with him, and there subjected him to insult. First of all he sent his daughter out from the city, clothed in the garb of a slave, with a pitcher to draw water. Many virgins, the daughters of the chief nobles, accompanied her, wearing the same dress. When the damsels came opposite to the place where their fathers sat, shedding tears and uttering cries of woe, the fathers, all but Psammenitus, wept and wailed in return, grieving to see their children in so sad a plight; but he, when he had looked and seen, bent his head towards the ground. In this way passed by the water-carriers. Next to them came Psammenitus' son, and two thousand Egyptians of the same age with him—all of them having ropes round their necks and bridles in their mouths—and they too passed by on their way to suffer death

* HER. iii. 12. † HER. iii. 14, 15.

for the murder of the Mityleneans who were destroyed, with their vessel, in Memphis. For so had the royal judges given their sentence —'For each Mitylenean ten of the noblest Egyptians must forfeit life."

"King Psammenitus saw the train pass on, and knew his son was being led to death; but, while the other Egyptians, who sat around him, wept and were sorely troubled, he showed no further sign than when he saw his daughter. And now, when they, too, were gone, it chanced that one of his former boon-companions, a man advanced in years, who had been stripped of all that he had and was a beggar, came where Psammenitus, son of Amasis, and the rest of the Egyptians were, asking alms from the soldiers. At this sight the king burst into tears, and, weeping out aloud, called his friend by his name, and smote himself on the head.

"Now, there were some who had been set to watch Psammenitus, and see what he would do as each train went by; so these persons went and told Cambyses of his behaviour. Then he, astonished at what was done, sent a messenger to Psammenitus, and questioned him, saying,— 'Psammenitus, thy lord Cambyses asketh thee why, when thou sawest thy daughter brought to shame, and thy son on his way to death, thou didst neither utter cry nor shed tear, while to a beggar, who is, he hears, a stranger to thy race, thou gavest those marks of honor?' To this question Psammenitus made answer,—'O son of Cyrus, my own misfortunes were too great for tears, but the woe of my friend deserved them. When a man falls from splendour and plenty into beggary, at the threshold of old age, one may well weep for him.' When the messenger brought back this answer, Cambyses owned it was just. Crœsus, likewise, the Egyptians say, burst into tears—for he, too, had come into Egypt with Cambyses—and the Persians, who were present, wept. Even Cambyses himself was touched with pity, and he forthwith gave an order that the son of Psammenitus should be spared from the number of those appointed to die, and Psammenitus himself brought from the suburb into his presence.

"The messengers were too late to save the life of Psammenitus' son, who had been cut in pieces the first of all; but they took Psammenitus himself and brought him before the king. Cambyses allowed him to live with him, and gave him no more harsh treatment; nay, could he have kept from intermeddling with affairs, he might have recovered Egypt, and ruled it as governor... He was discovered to be stirring up revolt in Egypt, wherefore Cambyses, when his guilt clearly appeared, compelled him to drink bull's blood, which presently caused his death. Such was the end of Psammenitus."

6. Cambyses went from Memphis to Sais to take an unworthy vengeance on the corpse of Ahmes. He caused his mummy to be

taken out of the tomb, had it torn to pieces with a goad, and insulted in a thousand ways, and then thrown into the fire, an offence both to the religion of the Persians, who, regarding fire as the purest of all things, the image of the most holy Ormuzd, considered it the height of impiety to pollute the pure element by throwing a corpse into it, and also to that of the Egyptians, whose belief led them to preserve the bodies of their dead most carefully.

Cambyses, however, in the early days of his rule in Egypt, attempted to conciliate the national prejudices of the people. He exhibited a desire to gain the goodwill of the Egyptians by the greatest condescension towards the most distinguished of those who had escaped the fury of the first conquest, and especially by protecting their religion. He assumed purely Egyptian titles, desired to pass himself off as a descendant of the ancient kings of Egypt, and obtained instruction in the religious dogmas of the country. By the advice of an Egyptian, whom he had received into his favour, he promptly directed a body of his army, who had been quartered in the Temple of Neith, to evacuate the building. Cambyses directed the worship of the gods of Sais to be re-established and maintained in all its splendour, and doubtless also that of all the other gods of Egypt. He himself went, as all the other kings of the country had done, and worshipped in that city, and was initiated into the mysteries. These details are obtained from the inscription on the statue of the person who initiated him, a statue executed in the reign of Darius, and now preserved at Rome in the Museum of the Vatican.*

SECTION II.—EXPEDITION TO ETHIOPIA—MADNESS AND DEATH OF CAMBYSES (525—522).

1. PEACE was now restored in Egypt. On this occasion there was no partisan warfare carried on in the Delta, as there had been at the time of the Ethiopian conquest. All the neighbouring nations were terrified at the subjugation of Egypt. The Lybians submitted without a contest, paid a self-imposed tribute, and sent presents. The Cyrenæans and Barcæans followed their example; but Cambyses was not pleased with the former, who sent him only 500 silver minæ, which he distributed among his soldiers. He next resolved to make war on three different nations at once: on the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Ethiopians; those of Meroe first, and afterwards those of Abyssinia;

* See DE ROUGÉ, *Mémoire sur la Statue Naophore du Vatican.* Paris, 1851.

amongst others the Macrobians, the most distant people of whom he had heard.

After having deliberated on these expeditions, he determined to send his fleet against Carthage, and a detachment of his army by land against the Ammonians, and to send spies into Ethiopia, under the pretext of carrying presents to the king. For this purpose some of the Ichthyophagi were sent for, people of the semi-savage tribes of the shores of the Red Sea, who were acquainted with the language of the Ethiopians. Cambyses then directed his fleet to set sail for Carthage; the Phœnicians, however, refused to obey, because they were allied to the Carthaginians by the most solemn oaths, and deemed it an unnatural and impious thing to make war on people who were sprung from the same race as themselves. By this refusal of the Phœnicians, as the remainder of the fleet was not strong enough to act alone, the Carthaginians escaped the yoke the Persians desired to impose on them. Cambyses did not venture to insist on his plan, and to alienate the Phœnician cities, which had voluntarily submitted to him and furnished the best part of his fleet.

2. The Ichthyophagi, who were to be sent as spies into Ethiopia, received their instructions from Cambyses, and went off with the presents for the king of Meroe. He was not for a moment deceived by the pretext assigned for their embassy. "Carry back," said he, "this bow to the Persian *king*; the king of Ethiopia advises him to commence the war when he can bend the bow as easily as he himself can. In the meanwhile, Cambyses may thank the gods for not having inspired the Ethiopians with the wish to increase their dominions by conquest."

Cambyses was beside himself with rage when the spies brought him back this message; and at once, with incredible rashness, commenced his march against the Ethiopians, with no provision for the wants of his army or for his own safety; perfectly ignorant also of the country into which he was about to throw his soldiers. On his arrival at Thebes he detached 50,000 men from his army, for the purpose of reducing the Ammonians and burning the temple where the god gave his oracles. He himself continued his march with the rest of his army for Ethiopia. Wishing to shorten the way, he left the banks of the Nile at the first great bend of the river, and marched through the desert. The road he took was no doubt that from Sebua to Abu Hammed; traversed by many caravans in the present day. A few wells are found on it from time to time, sufficient to supply the wants of a small number of merchants, but utterly insufficient for a large army. Even caravans are exposed to great danger. Advancing through immense plains of sand, without inhabitants, without trees, forage, water, or resources of any kind, he soldiers of Cambyses were reduced to the most frightful

famine, and compelled even to kill and eat each other. He was obliged to retrace his steps, after having lost the greater part of his army in the desert.

The fate of the troops sent against the oasis of Ammon remained enveloped in mystery. They did not arrive at their destination, and not one of them returned to Egypt. The Ammonians said that when the soldiers had marched through the desert about half their journey, a tempest from the south arose and buried them under mountains of sand.

3. The pride of Cambyses was so cruelly wounded by these disasters that his reason gave way. The fifteen months that he survived were filled with acts of folly and cruelty.

When he returned to Memphis he found the people holding a festival. Apis had been manifested, and his appearance was celebrated by great rejoicings. Cambyses imagined that the Egyptians were exulting over his reverses; he sent for the magistrates of Memphis, and in spite of their explanations, condemned them to death as impostors. He then summoned the priests and caused them to be beaten with rods, and ordered all the Egyptians who were found celebrating the festival to be put to death. He desired to see the sacred bull, and had him brought into his presence. "This," said he, "is indeed a god worthy of the Egyptians," and then drew his sword and wounded the bull in the thigh. The god died soon after of this wound, and his epitaph has been found by M. Mariette in the Serapeum, and is now in the Museum of the Louvre.

The Egyptians were now subjected to fearful tyranny. The inscription on the statue in the Vatican, though it appears to veil this oppression under vague expressions, states that no such calamities had fallen on Egypt within the memory of man since the time of the Shepherds. The rights of property were everywhere invaded, public worship forbidden, or at least restricted, and funereal ceremonies, to which so much value was attached in Egypt, interrupted or interdicted.

4. The Persians themselves did not escape the freaks of this furious madman. He ordered the execution of his brother Smerdis, and charged Prexaspes, one of his courtiers, to carry out the decree. Next came the turn of his youngest sister. He had wished to marry her, contrary to the customs of the Persians. To satisfy his conscience, he assembled the judges of his empire, and enquired of them whether there was not a law to permit a brother to marry his sister. The judges replied that they knew of no law to authorise such a marriage, but there was one permitting the king of Persia to do anything he pleased. Then, however, in a fit of disgust, he killed instead of marrying her.

A large number of noble Persians were also put to death. One day

Cambyses buried alive up to their necks twelve of his courtiers. On another occasion he asked Prexaspes what the Persians said of him.* "Prexaspes answered, 'Oh, sire! they praise thee greatly in all things but one; they say thou art too much given to love of wine.' Such Prexaspes told him was the judgment of the Persians; whereupon Cambyses, full of rage, made answer, 'What! they say now that I drink too much wine, and so have lost my senses and am gone out of my mind? Then their former speeches about me were untrue.' . . . . Cambyses then spoke fiercely to Prexaspes, saying, 'Judge now thyself, Prexaspes, whether the Persians tell the truth, or whether it is not they who are mad for speaking as they do. Look there now at thy son standing in the vestibule. If I shoot and hit him right in the middle of the heart, it will be plain the Persians have no grounds for what they say; if I miss him, then I allow that the Persians are right, and that I am out of my mind.' So speaking he drew his bow to the full and struck the boy, who straightway fell down dead. Then Cambyses ordered the body to be opened, and the wound examined; and when the arrow was found to have entered the heart, the king was quite overjoyed, and said to the father, with a laugh, 'Now thou seest plainly, Prexaspes, that it is not I who am mad, but the Persians who have lost their senses. I pray thee tell me, sawest thou ever mortal man send an arrow with a better aim?' Prexaspes, seeing that the king was not in his right mind, and fearing for himself, replied, 'Oh, my lord, I do not think that God himself could shoot so dexterously.'" Another time he intended to kill Crœsus.

5. Whilst Cambyses was thus in Egypt, acting the part of a furious madman, a revolution broke out in Persia, and for a time restored the supremacy of the Medes. This revolution was under the directions and for the advantage of the Magi, to whom Cyrus had given great influence and important positions at his court, as a mark of favour to that portion of the Medes who had assisted him to dethrone Astyages, and were entirely devoted to him. Their project was not only to possess themselves of authority, but to restore the preponderance of the Medes and the supremacy of their religion, so opposed to the pure Mazdeism of the Persians. The absence of Cambyses, the general discontent in the empire, and the gradual corruption of manners and of national character among the Persians, all seemed to facilitate their enterprise. Two Magi, who were brothers, undertook to carry out the plot. Cambyses had left one of them in charge of the royal domains in Media, and he was the author of the revolt. He was aware of the death of Smerdis, and also that it was kept secret, and was known to but very few of the Persians, who, in general, believed that Smerdis was

* Her. iii. 34, 35.

still alive. His brother, Gomates, was very much like the prince, whom Cambyses had put to death. Him he placed on the throne, under the name of Smerdis, and despatched heralds into all the provinces, and especially into Egypt, to forbid the army to obey Cambyses, and to order them in future to recognise Smerdis, son of Cyrus.

As soon as he heard the news of this revolt, Cambyses made arrangements for returning to Persia at the head of his troops, who all remained faithful to him. But as he was mounting his horse in hot haste he wounded himself seriously with his own sword. In spite of this he proceeded in a litter; but the fatigue of the journey aggravated the wound, which mortified, and Cambyses died at a miserable little village in Syria.

Section III.—The Reign of the False Smerdis—Accession of Darius (522—521 B.C.).

1. When Cambyses was dead, the Magus Gomates considered himself safely established on the throne. He reigned peaceably for some months under the name of Smerdis; and to render himself popular, and counterbalance the bad impression made by the religious innovations carried on under his protection by the Magi in all the Iranian provinces, persecuting the ministers of Zoroastrianism, and overturning its altars, he exempted those of his subjects who had three children from all taxes and from military service.

2. The mystery, however, with which he surrounded himself, in order to avoid discovery, inspired suspicion. A Persian named Otanes (Utana), son of Socres (Sukhra),* governor of Southern Cappadocia, whose daughter had become one of the wives of the false Smerdis, became convinced that he was an impostor. He communicated his suspicions to some of the chief among the Persians, who, like himself, were irritated at seeing the real and effective power again in the hands of the Medes. They at once met and deliberated on the means of overturning the usurper. The conspirators were seven, all of the tribe of the Pasargadæ, and for the most part, of the race of Achæmenes. These were, with Otanes, Intaphernes (*Vindafrana*), son of Æospares (*Uviçpara*); Hydarnes (*Vidarna*), son of Dysgares (*Dujgara*); Gobryas (*Gaubruva*), son of Mardonius (*Marduniya*); Megabyzus (*Bagamukhsa*), son of Dadyes (*Daduhya*); Ardimanes (*Ardimanyus*), son of Ochus; and, lastly, Darius (*Darayavush*), son of Hystaspes (*Vistaçpa*). They had all been entrusted by Cyrus with the government of important provinces, or in some of the first offices of the crown.

* Called by Herodotus (iii. 68) son of Pharnaspes.

Darius was of opinion that they should attack the Magus at once in his palace, before the news of the conspiracy could spread. All was done as he desired. They marched at once to the palace of the false Smerdis and killed him, as well as all the Magi they found there; they then issued forth, and with loud cries told the Persians, who ran to them, what had happened. As soon as the news reached Ecbatana, the Persians who inhabited that city flew to arms; and enraged at this audacious usurpation of the Medes, put to the sword all the Magi they could find; this example was followed in the greater number of Persian cities. An annual festival was instituted to celebrate this massacre, and was still observed in the following century; Herodotus calls it the Magophonia.

3. The revolution thus accomplished, the seven conspirators deliberated on the form of government it would be best to give the Persians, now that the direct line of Cyrus was extinct. After discussing the advantages and inconveniences of the three forms, monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic, they decided on the former, as being the best. This deliberation, recorded by Herodotus, has been treated as fabulous by some modern historians, but it is in perfect agreement with what we have already said as to the almost republican form of the Persian government, even at this period;* and in this deliberation of the conspirators nothing was discussed but the form of government of the Persians themselves, who, whether under a republic or monarchy, would continue, as an aristocracy, to rule over the other nations.

In choosing the new king, it was decided that the seven chiefs should meet on horseback next morning before the city, and that he should be king whose horse should first salute the rising sun by neighing. A stratagem of his groom ensured the success of Darius (521). He was descended from Achæmenes in the fifth generation through a younger brother of the father of Cyrus, Ariaramnes (*Ariyaramna*). His father, Hystaspes, was governor of Persia, and remained so after his son had ascended the throne.

Very shortly after his accession Darius found a frivolous pretext for putting Intaphernes and his family to death; he, no doubt, feared to find in him a dangerous competitor. The other five conspirators became hereditary sovereigns, vassals of course to the king, of the provinces they had governed.

4. Such is the story of Herodotus. It is confirmed in all points, and completed in some, by a monument of the highest importance which has recently been found to bear the most striking testimony to the veracity of the father of history.

A little to the north of Kermanshah, on the left of the caravan route

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* See page 60.

from Bagdad to Hamadan, in Persian Kurdistan, and on the ancient Median territory, is found the rock of Behistun, the Mount Bagistan of the classical geographers, rising to a perpendicular height of about 1,500 feet. On the face of the cliff is a colossal bas-relief, with an inscription so lengthy that Sir R. Ker Porter was of opinion that it would take more than a month to copy.* The bas-relief represents a king, followed by his attendants, receiving captive enemies. One of these he is trampling under foot. This king is Darius, the one at his feet is the Magus Gomates; the other prisoners are the chiefs, who, taking advantage of the disorder caused by the usurpation of the Magus, raised insurrections in the various provinces. The transcription, translation, and publication of the inscription were accomplished by General Sir H. C. Rawlinson; it contains the same text, thrice repeated, in the three official languages of the Achæmenian chanceries. It relates the accession of Darius, and the incidents of his reign, to the year 514 B C. This is the most valuable document on this period of history, and from it we shall make some quotations, as the text translated successively by Sir H. C. Rawlinson and M. Oppert is within the reach of all.

The Behistun inscription commences with the narrative of the death of the false Smerdis, and the accession of the son of Hystaspes. It must be remembered that the story is *official*, and very naturally the conspiracy of the seven chiefs is transformed into a restoration of legitimate power effected by Darius, with the assistance of "faithful men," who are enumerated at the close of the inscription exactly in accordance with Herodotus.†

"When Cambyses slew that Bartius [Smerdis], the troubles of the state ceased which Bartius had excited. Then Cambyses proceeded to Egypt. When Cambyses had gone to Egypt the state became heretical; then the lie became abounding in the land, both in Persia and in Media, and in the other provinces.

"Afterwards there was a certain man, a Magian, named Gomates; he arose from Pissiachada, the mountains named Arakadres; from thence, on the 14th day of the month Viyakhna, then it was, as he arose, to the state he thus falsely declared—'I am Bartius, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses.' Then the whole state became rebellious; from Cambyses it went over to that (Bartius), both Persia and Media and the other provinces. He seized the empire; on the 9th day of the month Garmapada, then it was he thus seized the empire Afterwards Cambyses, unable to endure his (misfortunes), died.

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* *Travels*, vol. ii., p. 158.

† The quotations from this inscription are from the tenth vol. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, in which Sir H. C. Rawlinson published both the text and his translation.

"That crown, or empire, of which Gomates, the Magian, dispossessed Cambyses, that crown had been in our family from the olden time. After Gomates, the Magian, had dispossessed Cambyses of Persia and Media and the dependent provinces, he did according to his desire, he became king.

"There was not a man, neither Persian nor Median, nor any one of our family, who would dispossess of the empire that Gomates, the Magian. The state feared to resist him. He would frequently address the state, which knew the old Bartius, for that reason he would address the state, saying, 'Beware lest it regard me as if I were not Bartius, the son of Cyrus.' There was not any one bold enough to oppose him; every one was standing obediently around Gomates, the Magian, until I arrived. Then I abode in the worship of Ormazd; Ormazd brought help to me. On the 10th day of the month Bágayádish, then it was, with the men who were my well-wishers, I slew that Gomates, the Magian, and the chief men who were his followers. The fort named Siktakhotes, in the district of Media named Nisæa, there I slew him; I dispossessed him of the empire. By the grace of Ormazd I became king; Ormazd granted me the sceptre.

"The crown that had been wrested from our race that I recovered. I established it firmly, as in the days of old; thus I did. The rites which Gomates, the Magian, had introduced I prohibited. I reinstituted for the state the sacred chants and (sacrificial) worship."

This last paragraph is important, for it conclusively proves the antagonism existing between the religion of the Medes and that of Zoroaster, as well as the essentially religious character both of the revolution attempted by the false Smerdis, and of the Persian reaction that placed Darius on the throne.

Section IV.—Disorders in the Persian Empire (521—514 B.C.).

1. Darius having in this way become king, found himself, on taking possession of power, confronted by a series of formidable insurrections. Some of them had commenced in the short reign of the false Smerdis, others broke out on his own accession. It required six years to suppress these insurrections, and to establish the authority of the king throughout the whole extent of the empire. They were, in fact, something more than mere casual revolts, produced by local grievances or the ambition of some great lord. The greater part of them broke out in countries divided from this new master by national rivalry, and were attempts to regain their ancient independence. The insurrections broke out successively, or simultaneously, in almost every part of the empire

—in Susiana, and even in Persia. But the most serious and dangerous were in Media, where the people were enraged at the loss of their preponderance in the empire, and by the massacre of the Magi; among the Armenians, who found themselves treated as subjects by those to whom they expected to be allies; and the Babylonians, who had lost both dominion and liberty, and were unwilling to bear the yoke they themselves had imposed on the Hebrews.

Herodotus relates only a few, although the most important, incidents in these disorders of the early years of the reign of Darius. The inscription of Behistun, however, gives full details, which we quote:—

"When I had slain Gomates, the Magian, then a certain man, named Atrines, the son of Opadarmes, he arose; to the state of Susiana he thus said, 'I am king of Susiana.' Then the people of Susiana became rebellious; they went over to that Atrines; he became king of Susiana. And a certain man, a Babylonian, named Natitabirus, the son of Æna . . . . he arose; the state of Babylonia he thus falsely addressed, 'I am Nabokhodrossor, the son of Nabonidus.' Then the entire Babylonian state went over to that Natitabirus. Babylon became rebellious. He (Natitabirus) seized the government of Babylonia.

"Then I sent to Susiana; that Atrines was brought to me a prisoner. I slew him.

"Then I proceeded to Babylon, (marching) against that Natitabirus, who was called Nabokhodrossor. The forces of Natitabirus held the Tigris; there they had come, and they had boats. Then I placed a detachment on rafts; I brought the enemy into difficulty; I assaulted the enemy's position. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd I succeeded in passing the Tigris. Then I entirely defeated the army of that Natitabirus. On the 27th day of the month Atriyáta, then it was that we thus fought.

"Then I marched against Babylon. When I arrived near Babylon, the city named Tázána, upon the Euphrates, there that Natitabirus, who was called Nabokhodrossor, came with a force before me, offering battle. Then we fought a battle. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, I entirely defeated the force of Natitabirus. The enemy was driven into the water; the water destroyed them. On the 2nd day of the month Anámaka, then it was that we thus fought the battle.

"Then Natitabirus, with the horsemen who were faithful to him, fled to Babylon. Then I proceeded to Babylon; I both took Babylon and seized that Natitabirus. Afterwards I slew that Natitabirus at Babylon."

This official inscription could not contain all the details that Herodotus gives of the war in Babylon, details amplifying and completing the story of the Behistun inscription. Darius, according to the Halicarnassian

historian, was compelled to assemble all his forces to subjugate the rebel city. The Babylonians had made great preparations for defence; and to avoid the danger of famine, barbarously killed nearly all the women in the city. Remembering the circumstances of the capture of the city by Cyrus, they were constantly on the watch, repulsed all attacks, and penetrated every stratagem. Darius was beginning to feel doubtful of success; when, in the twentieth month of the siege, one of his officers, Dadyes, the father of that Megabyzus who was one of the conspirators against the Magi, contrived a stratagem that made the king of Persia master of the place. Herodotus calls him Zopyrus (*Dazdaupira*), and he is always so correct that we must conclude that this personage had, as is very common in the East, two names.

Zopyrus proposed to introduce himself into Babylon as a fugitive and a victim to the cruelty of Darius. The more completely to deceive the Babylonians, he cut off his nose and ears, and inflicted on himself such blows as to draw blood. In that state he presented himself before the king of Babylon. The Babylonians received him joyfully, and gave him the command of a body of troops. A few days after his arrival he sallied out at the head of his soldiers, and cut to pieces, as he had previously arranged with Darius, a body of a thousand of the enemy, whom the king had stationed for the purpose. In a second sortie he defeated two thousand, and in a third four thousand of the Persian army. These successes gave him unbounded influence with the besieged, who entrusted to him the guard of the ramparts. This led to the fall of the place. Darius, on an appointed day, approached with all his forces. Zopyrus opened two of the gates to them, and Babylon thus fell a second time into the power of the Persians, who dismantled the ramparts and destroyed the gates. Three thousand of the chief of the Babylonians were crucified.

All ancient writers express their admiration of Zopyrus for an act that we should now call shameful treachery. He was made governor of Babylon, and received its entire revenues for life; and it was said that Darius declared that he would rather that Zopyrus were whole, than to take twenty such cities as Babylon. If we may credit Plutarch, the king was one day asked what he would wish to have in as great plenty as the seeds of a pomegranate he held in his hand, and he replied, "Zopyrus."*

By combining the narrative of Herodotus with the Behistun inscription, we may easily establish the chronology of these events. The revolt in Babylon, and no doubt in Susiana also, broke out on the news of the death of Cambyses, in 522. The false Smerdis did nothing to

* Herodotus (iv. 143) tells this story of Megabazus, or, according to some copies, Megabyzus.

repress it. Darius, on his accession in 521, sent at once an army into Susiana, so as to isolate the Babylonians; the defeat and capture of Athrines must have taken place in the spring of 520. Darius then marched against Babylon. At the beginning of December, 520, he passed the Tigris, and the first battle was fought; a second battle, at the end of the same month, shut up Nidintabel in the city. The siege commenced in January, 519, and lasted more than twenty months, consequently, it must have terminated about September, 518 B.C.

3. "Whilst I was at Babylon," continues Darius in the Behistun inscription, "these are the countries which revolted against me: Persis, Susiana, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, and Sacia.

"A certain man, named Martius, the son of Sisicres; a city of Persia, named Cyganaca, there he dwelt; he rose up; to the state of Susiana he thus said, 'I am Omanes,* the king of Susiana.'

"Upon this I was moving a little way in the direction of Susiana; then the Susians, fearing from me, seized that Martius who was their chief, and they slew him."

This occurred during the siege of Babylon, whence Darius marched for a while into Susiana, in all probability in the autumn of 519.

4. "A certain man, named Phraortes, a Median, he rose up; to the state of Media he thus said, 'I am Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares.' Then the Median forces, which were at home, revolted against me. They went over to that Phraortes; he became king of Media.

"The army of Persians and Medes that was with me (on service) that remained faithful to me. Then I sent forth these troops. Hydarnes by name, a Persian, one of my subjects, him I appointed their leader. I thus addressed them, 'Happiness attend ye; smite that Median state which does not acknowledge me.' Then that Hydarnes marched with his army. When he reached Media, a city of Media named Ma———, there he engaged the Medes. He who was leader of the Medes could not at all resist him (?). Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, the troops of Hydarnes entirely defeated the rebel army. On the 6th day of the month Anamaka, then it was that the battle was thus fought by them. Afterwards my forces remained at Kapada, a district of Media, according to my order (?), until I myself arrived in Media.

"Then Dadarses by name, an Armenian, one of my servants, him I sent to Armenia. I thus said to him. 'Greeting to thee; the rebel state that does not obey me, smite it.' Then Dadarses marched. When

* Representing himself, no doubt, as a descendant of the old native dynasty; one of the later kings of this race was Teumman. See vol. i., p. 409.

he reached Armenia, then the rebels, having collected, came before Dadarses arraying their battle. ——— by name, a village of Armenia, there they engaged. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated that rebel army. On the 8th day of the month Thurawáhara, then it was a battle was thus fought by them.

"For the second time, the rebels having collected, returned before Dadarses, arraying battle. The fort of Armenia, named Tigra, there they engaged. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my troops entirely defeated that rebel army. On the 18th day of the month Thurawáhara, then it was that the battle was thus fought by them.

"For the third time, the rebels having assembled, returned before Dadarses, arraying battle. A fort of Armenia, named ———, there they engaged. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated the rebel troops. On the 9th day of the month Thaigarchish, then it was a battle was thus fought by them. Afterwards Dadarses remained away from me . . . . until I reached Media."

These three battles, in the spring and summer of 519 (the revolt in Armenia having been contemporaneous with that in Media), were, in reality, mere barren victories, and did not lead to the submission of the Armenians, for Darius was obliged to send another general and a fresh army against them. Two battles were fought, one at the end of 519 and one in the spring of 518. Blockading Dadarses in the mountains, the Armenian rebels had advanced into Assyria, a very serious position of affairs, for Media was always ready for insurrection.

"Then he who was named Vomises, a Persian, one of my servants, him I sent to Armenia. Thus I said to him, 'Hail to thee; the rebel state which does not acknowledge my authority, bring it under submission.' Then Vomises marched forth. When he had reached Armenia, then the rebels having assembled, came again before Vomises in order of battle. A district of Assyria, named ———, there they engaged. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated that rebel army. On the 15th day of the month Anámaka, then it was a battle was thus fought by them.

"For the second time, the rebels having assembled, came before Vomises in battle array. The district of Armenia, named Otiára, there they engaged. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, my forces entirely defeated that rebel army. In the month Thurawáhara, upon the festival (?), thus was a battle fought by them. Afterwards Vomises remained in Armenia, apart from me, until I reached Media."

5. All this occurred whilst Darius was detained before Babylon, and

the siege seemed to have no prospective termination, neutralising the best troops of the Persian empire. When Babylon was at last taken, Darius was at liberty to move with the main body of his army into the insurgent provinces, and affairs very soon changed.

"Then I departed," continues the inscription, Darius being the speaker, "from Babylon. I proceeded to Media. When I reached Media, a city of Media, named Gudrusia, there that Phraortes, who was called king of Media, came with an army before me in battle array. Then we joined battle. Ormazd brought help to me; by the grace of Ormazd, I entirely defeated the forces of Phraortes. On the 26th day of the month of Askhana, then it was we thus fought the battle.

"Then that Phraortes, with the horsemen who were faithful to him, fled from thence to the district of Media, named Rhages. Subsequently I despatched forces in pursuit, by whom Phraortes was taken and brought before me. I cut off both his nose and ears and his lips, and I brought him to ———. He was held chained at my door; all the kingdom beheld him. Afterwards at Ecbatana, there I had him crucified; and the men who were his chief followers at Ecbatana, in the citadel I imprisoned them."

The subjugation of Media led to the immediate submission of Armenia; the official narrative of Darius makes no mention of the latter country, as it submitted without a battle as soon as Phraortes was conquered. By consulting the chronological list of Moses of Chorene, it will be seen that the breaking out of this revolt in Armenia coincided with the death of Tigranes I., the faithful ally of Cyrus and of other Persian kings. The insurgents, whose leader is unknown, no doubt wished to drive his son Vahaku from the throne; the victory of Darius in Media resulted in the firm establishment of Vahaku in power, which he retained till his death, in 493.

6. After having related the death of Phraortes, the Behistun inscription goes on to detail the result of the various insurrections arising out of that in Media. First one in Sagartia, headed by Sitratachmes, who professed to be a descendant of Cyaxares. The Median general, Camaspates, conquered and made him prisoner, just about the time when Phraortes was also taken. "My troops entirely defeated the rebel army, and took Sitratachmes, and brought him before me. Then I cut off his nose and his ears, and I brought him to ———. He was kept chained at my door; all the kingdom beheld him. Afterwards I had him crucified at Arbela."

A revolt next occurred in Parthia and Hyrcania, where the people had embraced the cause of Phraortes. The Median pretender was conquered and put to death. Darius sent his father Hystaspes, who was still living, against these two provinces. The mass of the people

were Turanian. Two battles, fought in April and July, 517, were sufficient to reduce them to obedience.

Margiana also revolted. Dadarses, satrap of Bactria (not the same who had led the army in Armenia), marched against this rebellious portion of his government, and by one battle reduced them to submission.

7. Whilst the lieutenants of Darius were thus trampling out the last remains of the rebellion of Phraortes, and whilst the king himself was in Media, a new revolt, the most serious he had yet encountered, broke out in Persia itself—in the country on which he always felt it safe to rely, and where he had hitherto found his firmest support. This insurrection was excited by a new pretender to the name of Smerdis, who was really, according to the Behistun inscription, named Vahyazdata. This, again, was one of the movements arranged to coincide with the insurrection of Phraortes; but, to use a common expression, it had hung fire, and broke out only after the defeat of the Median chief. Darius sent against the impostor Vahyazdata one of his generals named Artavardes, whilst the war was still going on in Parthia and Margiana. Two battles took place in Persia, in May and July, 517, and victory in each case was with the general of Darius; in the last, Vahyazdata was made prisoner. Darius treated him like the other rebel chiefs who fell into his hands, and crucified him.

But this Vahyazdata had sent one of his friends to raise an insurrection in Arachosia, and this province, still imperfectly subjugated, answered to his call. The satrap of Arachosia, named Hyanes (Vivana), was at first defeated by the insurgents, in December, 517; but Darius having sent him help, he regained the advantage, and annihilated their army, in April, 516.

8. Darius had severely punished the revolt of the Babylonians, and he might well think that the great Chaldæan city would never again attempt to regain its independence. But the desire was too deeply rooted to be easily eradicated; and, in 516, taking advantage of the absence of Darius, who was occupied by important wars in the heart of the Arian countries, the Babylonians again revolted. They rallied round an Armenian named Arakhu, son of Haldita, who gave himself out for Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonahid. Darius on this occasion did not go in person to Babylon, but sent a Median general named Intaphres, who carried the city by assault, and took Arakhu prisoner.

A new insurrection in Susiana took place at the same time as that at Babylon. Gobryas, one of the seven who slew the Magus, was sent to suppress it. This he did in the spring of 515.

9. We have already seen that the Sacæ, who lived near the sources of the Jaxartes, were among the insurgents in 519, during the siege of Babylon. While Darius was engaged in repressing serious revolts in

the heart of his empire, he did not turn his attention to such a distant region; but when all the other rebels were crushed, and he found his authority firmly established throughout the whole of the empire of Cyrus, he determined on reducing the Sacæ to obedience. The expedition was arduous, the king directed it personally, and made prisoner of the king, Saruka. Unfortunately, the portion of the Behistun inscription on the subject of this campaign is sadly mutilated. It seems to have taken place in 514.

This ended the work of Darius in reconquering step by step, and reforming into one united empire, the dominions of the Persian monarchy, which, at one time, seemed entirely broken up by insurrections.

10. Such is the recital of the Behistun inscription. The majority of the facts recorded in it were unknown before the translation was made; but, on the other hand, Herodotus has preserved one incident of the same epoch, not mentioned in the inscription. This was the death of Orætes, the powerful satrap of Lydia, who was aiming at independence, and whom Darius was compelled to cause to be assassinated, being too weak and too much occupied by the revolts in all parts of the empire to attack him openly. This Orætes had killed the governor of Dascylium and his son, both Persians of distinction; and besides an infinity of other crimes, had murdered an envoy of Darius, who brought him orders he did not like. But as he had a guard of 1000 Persians and very considerable forces, as his government included Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, Darius contrived the following plan to get rid of him:—He assembled the best qualified Persians, those most devoted to himself, and asked them,* "'Who among you, O Persians, will undertake to accomplish me a matter by skill, without force or tumult? Force is misplaced where the work wants skilful management. Who, then, will undertake to bring me Orætes alive, or else to kill him? He never did the Persians any good in his life, and he has wrought us abundant injury. Two of our number, Mitrobates and his son, he has slain; and when messengers go to recall him, even though they have their mandate from me, with an insolence which is not to be endured, he puts them to death. We must kill this man, therefore, before he does the Persians any greater hurt.'

"Thus spoke Darius, and straightway thirty of those present came forward and offered themselves for the work. As they strove together, Darius interfered, and bade them have recourse to the lot. Accordingly lots were cast, and the task fell to Bagæus, son of Artontes. Then Bagæus caused many letters to be written on divers matters, and sealed them all with the king's signet; after which he took the letters with him, and departed for Sardis. On his arrival he was shown into

* HER. iii. 127, 128.

the presence of Orætes, when he uncovered the letters one by one, and giving them to the king's secretary—every satrap has with him a king's secretary—commanded him to read their contents. Herein his design was to try the fidelity of the body-guard, and to see if they would be likely to fall away from Orætes. When, therefore, he saw that they showed the letters all due respect, and even more highly reverenced their contents, he gave the secretary a paper, in which was written, 'Persians, king Darius forbids you to guard Orætes.' The soldiers at these words laid aside their spears. So Bagæus, finding that they obeyed this mandate, took courage and gave into the secretary's hands the last letter, wherein it was written, 'King Darius commands the Persians who are in Sardis to kill Orætes.' Then the guards drew their swords and slew him upon the spot."

One of the crimes of Orætes had been the murder of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos. He had inveigled him to Sardis, and then crucified him. Syloson, brother of Polycrates, obtained from Darius, to whom he had been of service in the time of Cambyses, a Persian army to put him in possession of Samos. This island, once so powerful, thus became tributary to the great king.

Section V.—Organisation of the Government of the Empire (514—516).

1. Darius, having succeeded in suppressing all revolts, found himself undisputed master of the whole of the immense empire of Cyrus. To legitimatise more completely his claim to the throne, and connect himself more closely with Cyrus, the founder of the monarchy, he married his two daughters, Atossa and Artystone; for after the example of the Median and Assyrian kings, the sovereigns of Persia practised polygamy. When once really established as king, to give unity to his empire, and prevent the recurrence of such disturbances as he had just suppressed, he for some years devoted all his attention to completing the organisation of his government, as it had been commenced by Cyrus. The empire was no more than a vast agglomeration of various tribes and nations, each but slightly attached to the central power. The institutions of the Persians were those of a conquering people, subject to a chief who could dispose of the life and property of the subjects as of what belonged to himself. "The Persians," says Herodotus,* "consider Asia as their property, and as the domain of the reigning sovereign" A sort of military despotism was thus the basis

* Her. i. 4.

of their government, and it does not appear that the subject had any other safeguard from the evils of such a system than the moderation of the prince himself.

According to oriental ideas, the king is not only sovereign but proprietor of the country. The distinction that obtains in Europe between the legislative, the executive, and the judicial authorities, and guarantees the independence of each of them, is entirely unknown in Asia. The king is the source and centre of all, and the people are in no way allowed to interfere in public affairs. This is the system on which the empire of the Achæmenians was constituted. The Persian kings governed their provinces in the same way and with the same despotism as the ancient kings of Assyria. In Persia itself their power was limited by some small remains of the ancient national institutions, and by the remnants of the old spirit of liberty, which, as we have seen, existed in all the Iranian race.

2. We find in the Book of Esther a most animated picture of the court of the Persian kings, which enables us, better than anything contained in the classical writers, to penetrate the internal life and the details of the organisation of the central government established by Darius. We see there that the king had a permanent council round him, and its members were in reality ministers. They ranked next to the king in the empire, and conjointly with him, under his direction, administered the business of the country.

Beneath this council we find the seven chiefs of the eunuchs, officers attached to the person of the sovereign, sometimes consulted, but generally occupied in purely domestic duties. They were in general employed to carry the royal will into execution, and were sometimes despatched to the provinces as extraordinary commissioners, somewhat like the *missi dominici* of Charlemagne.

In extraordinary cases, when, for instance, it was intended to make a great expedition, and to call the privileged race of the Persians to arms for any distant warfare, an assembly was called, the last remains of the free deliberative institutions of that nation. It was composed of satraps, commanders of the forces, the chief officers of the crown, and the heads of the military Persian aristocracy, that is, the tribe of the Pasargadæ. He whose advice was followed had to answer with his head for the success of the enterprise, an arrangement that very soon put an end to the reality of deliberation, and suppressed all liberty of speech.

The palace, among the Persians, as now among the Turks, had the name of *gate* (*duvara*), and was quite inaccessible to the multitude. A most rigid etiquette guarded all access to the king, and made it very difficult to approach him. The ministers and courtiers employed in the interior of the palace were stationed, according to their rank and duties,

in the outer courts. The number of these servants, attendants, and masters of ceremonies was very large. It was necessary to apply to them in order to reach the king, so that some of them were called the ears and the eyes of the king. He who entered the presence of the king without having previously obtained permission, was punished with death.

3. The countries subject to Darius in 514 B.C., after the suppression of the last revolt, were, according to the list given in the Behistun inscription, Persia, Media, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Irak Arabi, west of the Euphrates, Egypt, the islands of the Archipelago near the Asian shore, Lydia (meaning the whole of the ancient kingdom of Crœsus), Ionia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sagartia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Paropamisus, the countries of the Sacæ and the Sattagydes, Arachosia and the land of the Mercians; in all, twenty-three provinces.

Persia was exempt from taxation, and enjoyed special institutions and privileges. The administration of the other provinces was very simple. A body of troops was stationed in the conquered country, to retain possession and maintain obedience. With them were stationed officers charged with collecting the tribute and transmitting it to the king. Under Cyrus and Cambyses, the amount of the tribute was not fixed, and the governors of provinces could arbitrarily impose whatever they pleased.

To remedy the inconveniences of such a system, to ensure a certain, fixed revenue to the central power, and to put an end to the exactions of the governors of provinces, which might at any time be the cause or pretext for new insurrections, Darius definitely fixed the amount of the tribute, whether in money or kind, that each province should pay annually. This gave the Persians occasion to say that Darius was a merchant, Cambyses a master, and Cyrus a father; the first because he made money of everything, the second because he was harsh and negligent, the third because he was lenient, and studied the interests of his subjects.*

In order to ensure the regular return of these tributes, to enable the central authority to act more vigorously and promptly in all parts of the empire, and to equalise the importance of the great military commands, which, as well as the collection of tribute, were entrusted to the satraps, Darius made a new administrative division of the countries subject to his sceptre. He divided them into nineteen satrapies; and when the list, as given by Herodotus,† is compared with the list of the twenty-three provinces in the Behistun inscription, it is very clear that the intention in this new organisation of satrapies was to substitute a purely

* HER. iii. 89. † Ibid. iii. 90, *seq.*

administrative and artificial division, in place of the original and separate governments of subjugated nations. Cyrus and Cambyses had merely transformed each formerly independent country into a satrapy. Darius by this means placed obstacles in the way of the national revolts from which he had suffered so much at the beginning of his reign.

4. "The Ionians, the Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, the Carians, the Lycians, the Milyans, and the Pamphylians, paid their tribute in a single sum, which was fixed at four hundred talents of silver. These formed together the first satrapy.

"The Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians paid the sum of five hundred talents. This was the second satrapy.

"The Hellespontians, of the right coast as one enters the straits, the Phrygians, the Asiatic Thracians, the Paphlagonians, the Mariandynians, and the Syrians, paid a tribute of three hundred and sixty talents. This was the third satrapy.

"The Cilicians gave three hundred and sixty white horses, one for each day in the year, and five hundred talents of silver. Of this sum, one hundred and forty talents went to pay the cavalry that guarded the country, while the remaining three hundred and sixty were received by Darius. This was the fourth satrapy.

"The country reaching from the city of Posideium (built by Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraüs, on the confines of Syria and Cilicia) to the borders of Egypt, excluding therefrom a district which belonged to Arabia, and was free from tax, paid a tribute of three hundred and fifty talents. All Phœnicia, Palestine, Syria, and Cyprus were herein contained. This was the fifth satrapy.

"From Egypt and the neighbouring parts of Lybia, together with the towns of Cyrêné and Barca, which belonged to the Egyptian satrapy, the tribute which came in was seven hundred talents. These seven hundred talents did not include the profits of the fisheries of Lake Mœris, nor the corn furnished to the troops at Memphis. Corn was supplied to 120,000 Persians who dwelt at Memphis in the quarter called the White Castle, and to a number of auxiliaries. This was the sixth satrapy.

"The Sattagydians, the Gandarians, the Dadicæ, and the Aparytæ, who were all reckoned together, paid a tribute of one hundred and seventy talents. This was the seventh satrapy.

"Susa, and the other parts of Cissia, paid three hundred talents. This was the eighth satrapy.

"From Babylonia and the rest of Assyria were drawn a thousand talents of silver and five hundred boy eunuchs. This was the ninth satrapy.

"Agbatana and the other parts of Media, together with the Pari-

canians and Orthocorybantes, paid in all four hundred and fifty talents. This was the tenth satrapy.

"The Caspians, Pausicæ, Pantimathi, and Daritæ, were joined in one government, and paid the sum of two hundred talents. This was the eleventh satrapy.

"From the Bactrian tribes, as far as the Ægli, the tribute received was three hundred and sixty talents. This was the twelfth satrapy.

"From Pactyïca, Armenia, and the countries reaching thence to the Euxine, the sum drawn was four hundred talents. This was the thirteenth satrapy.

"The Sagartians, Sarangians, Thamanæans, Utians, and Mycians, together with the inhabitants of the islands in the Erythræan Sea, where the king sends those whom he banished, furnished altogether a tribute of six hundred talents. This was the fourteenth satrapy.

"The Sacans and Caspians gave two hundred and fifty talents. This was the fifteenth satrapy.

"The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians gave three hundred. This was the sixteenth satrapy.

"The Paricanians and Ethiopians of Asia furnished a tribute of four hundred talents. This was the seventeenth satrapy.

"The Matienians, Saspeires, and Alarodians were rated to pay two hundred talents. This was the eighteenth satrapy.

"The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynœci, and Mares had to pay three hundred talents. This was the nineteenth satrapy.

"The Indians, who are more numerous than any other nation with which we are acquainted, paid a tribute exceeding that of every other people, to wit, three hundred and sixty talents of gold-dust. This was the twentieth satrapy.

"If the Babylonian money here spoken of be reduced to the Euboic scale, it will make nine thousand five hundred and forty such talents; and if the gold be reckoned at thirteen times the worth of silver, the Indian gold-dust will come to four thousand six hundred and eighty talents. Add these two sums together, and the whole revenue which came into Darius, year by year, will be found to be in Euboic money fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents, not to mention parts of a talent."

5. The satraps were equal in rank among themselves; they all had the same power, both military and financial; but the system of internal administration in the various satrapies was by no means uniform, for there were the greatest possible differences. As in the Assyrian empire, a distinction was made between the provinces administered directly by officers appointed by the central power, and merely vassal provinces, retaining their own autonomy, institutions, and native chiefs.

The provinces administered directly were the second, fourth, sixth,

eighth, ninth, tenth, twelfth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth satrapies. In some of them, such as Lydia, Babylonia, and Media, constant insurrections were to be apprehended, attempts to regain independence, requiring a close connection with the central authority; others, such as Egypt and Cilicia, the principal station of the Persian war fleet, were of great strategic importance; and others, such as Bactria and the neighbouring countries, were in the same condition as they had been under the Median empire, and merely retained their old customs.

In provinces of this class, the satrap was not only charged with the command of the troops and the collection of tribute, but he, by agents of his own, directed the entire administration. One of the chief objects to which he was required to turn his attention, was the state of agriculture. The Persians attached great importance to the cultivation of the soil. The law of Zoroaster imposed this as a sacred obligation on its disciples. "Every year," says Xenophon, "the king visits a part of his empire, and sends deputies where he himself cannot go. He confers gifts on the magistrates of the districts that are best cultivated, and where fruits and trees are most abundant, and adds to their jurisdiction. On the other hand, where a province is badly cultivated and thinly peopled, whether from negligence or any other cause, the magistrates are punished or deprived of their offices."

6. In countries reduced to a state of simple vassalage, the satrap commanded the royal troops garrisoned in the most important posts, and collected the tribute for transmission to the treasury, but he had nothing to do with the administration; he merely controlled and exercised supervision over the native government, which remained the same as before the conquest, just as the English residents do now at the courts of some of the Indian rajahs.

Two privileged satrapies formed compact kingdoms, where the hereditary chief was also the satrap, and had no agent of the king's at his court. These were the thirteenth and the nineteenth; Armenia, where the fidelity of Tigranes I. and his successors had obtained for them extraordinary privileges; and Pontus, which, however, had not been in ancient times a kingdom, but was an assemblage of independent races down to the time of the conquests of Cyrus, and had been united under the rule of a branch of the Achæmenians, nearly related to the royal family of Darius.

In all other cases, the alteration made by the system established by Darius consisted in uniting under one satrapy a number of small vassal states, governed by native princes, who sometimes retained the title of king; so that there was no fear that the satrap might take advantage of the desire of the subject races to throw off the foreign yoke, as he might have done, if ruling over one single nation, by identifying himself with its interests. The vassal kings, also, were not so completely masters in

their dominions as they had been under Cyrus and Cambyses, but were constantly under the eye of a Persian officer, who represented the central authority, and was their superior in rank.

Thus, to confine ourselves to a few examples, in the first satrapy each of the Greek cities had its own national tyrant, or sole chief (this word having properly the sense of an arbitrary ruler, as distinguished from a constitutional one). Caria retained its native kings and queens, among whom we find the two Artemisias, Mausolus, and Pixodarus; Pamphylia was in the same position; Lycia was also an hereditary government in the family of Harpagus; but the whole of these princes were controlled by a satrap appointed by the great king. The third satrapy comprised two kingdoms, hereditary in the families of two of those who had assisted in killing Gomates. In the fifth satrapy each of the Phœnician cities retained its king, the Aramæan provinces formed many little kingdoms, the Cutheans of Samaria had their king, and the Jews in Jerusalem were governed by their high priest. In the twentieth satrapy, all the districts on the banks of the Indus retained their local kings.

Each of these princes, vassals of the Achæmenian monarch, kings or tyrants, enjoyed in his own dominions all the prerogatives of royalty, but under the surveillance and control of the satrap of the district, and on condition of paying tribute and furnishing such military assistance as might be required. He ruled as he pleased and according to the laws of the nation, and employed his own troops, excepting only in the fortresses where the Persians had garrisons; he levied what taxes he pleased on his subjects, and made treaties with other princes similarly situated, or with foreign cities. The admirable researches of M. Waddington* have proved that in the Persian empire coining was an essentially municipal right, and that it was freely exercised, without mention of the name of the suzerain, by every vassal prince who pleased, as well as by the Greek cities, who retained the self-government they valued so highly. Money was coined by the Persian king himself only in the provinces that were governed directly by his agents.

With so many princes and kings subordinate to him, the Achæmenian monarch assumed the style of king of kings, or the great king.

7. Such was the system of the great administrative and financial divisions established by Darius. This organisation was modified and improved in many points of detail, but it lasted in all essential points until the conquest of Asia by Alexander.

The king himself nominated and recalled the satraps. The least disobedience on their part was looked upon as rebellion, and almost always led to the death of the culprit. The slightest suspicion was

* *Mélanges de Numismatique*, Tom. i.

enough to ruin a satrap; the king despatched a special envoy with full powers to order the guards to kill the rebel, and these orders were immediately executed.

To ensure rapid communication between the distant provinces of the empire, couriers were established, stationed a day's journey from each other, who bore the orders of the king to the satraps, and their replies. This institution, so useful to the central power, was one of the improvements of Darius.

But all these precautions taken by the Persian kings with regard to the satraps were insufficient, and did not prevent the constant revolts and civil wars that in later times dismembered the empire. Too much power was given to the satraps, and the wide extent of their governments gave them too much personal importance. They ended by considering themselves as really sovereign princes, and their provinces as estates which they could farm as they pleased. The central power became weaker and more contemptible; and the sudden collapse of the empire, on the first attack of Alexander, showed how weak were the bonds uniting its different parts.

SECTION VI.—THE BUILDINGS OF DARIUS AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE PERSIANS.

1. ONE of the great evils of the yet imperfect constitution of the Persian empire under Cyrus and Cambyses, was the want of a capital—of a fixed seat for the central power. The two first kings had led, as it were, a nomadic life, residing sometimes in one and sometimes in another part of their vast dominions. Cyrus usually lived at Ecbatana, in the palace built by Deioces; Cambyses did not leave Egypt after having conquered it. The usurpation of the false Smerdis had showed the double danger of a prolonged residence of the king at one of the extremities of the empire, and of establishing the central seat of the administration in Media, where the people were always desirous of regaining their original supremacy over the Persians. In re-organising the empire, so as to give greater weight to the royal power, Darius felt the absolute necessity of having a fixed capital for his empire in a central position. For this purpose he made choice of Susa, in Persia proper, where was the real strength of his empire, near both to Babylonia and Media, and at an equal distance from both the eastern and western extremities of his vast dominions. There he constructed a magnificent palace, where the Achæmenian monarchs constantly resided when not heading their armies on distant expeditions. He also built the city of

Persepolis (Parçatakhra), in the centre of Persia, as a burial place for the kings of his dynasty, and there also he built an immense palace.

2. The palace at Susa, explored some years ago by General Sir W. F. Williams of Kars and Mr. Loftus, is now no more than a mass of ruins, but still all the essential characteristics of Persian architecture may be recognised there.*

But at Persepolis, now called Istakhar by the modern Persians, a great part is still standing and the ruins have for centuries been the admiration of travellers.†

A lofty chain of rocks of grey marble, with a noble and beautiful outline, presents a semicircular opening; two projecting horns enclose the back of the building, which projects far into the plain. It is built on a platform cut in the rock, with four sides, facing the four cardinal points. The architect has taken advantage of the position and form of the ground to give the edifice the appearance of an amphitheatre, consisting of three terraces, rising one behind the other. All the buildings are of marble, quarried in the mountain; and the enormous blocks are put together, without mortar or cement, so admirably that it is difficult to discover the joints.

Marble staircases lead from the lower to the upper platforms; the steps are so wide and easy that ten horsemen could mount them abreast. The stairs of the first terrace lead to a portico, where only four pilasters remain, arranged in pairs, north and south of the entrance. Winged bulls, similar to those of the Assyrian palaces, are sculptured on these pilasters, and also on the entrance-gate on each side. Between the pilasters stand four columns; everything else is in ruins. From this first terrace there was an ascent by similar, though smaller, stairs to the second, where four separate colonnades still remain, with a few columns. These are fluted, more than fifty feet high, and more than thirteen feet in circumference. Double heads of animals, joined by the neck, surmount the capitals. Between them is a space, where probably beams supported a flat roof, so as to form a grand peristyle, leading to many other buildings isolated from one another. The largest of these is on the same level; others, further back, are built on a third terrace. They contain a number of apartments of different sizes, apparently intended for habitation. The interiors exhibit an immense number of sculptured bas-reliefs, of great antiquarian interest on account of their historical character, and also because they form a sort of poem in honour of the king who erected the palace. The walls of the stairs are covered with figures arranged in procession, representing officers of

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* LOFTUS. *Travels in Chaldæa and Susiana.*

† See the great works of M. Texier and of M. Flandin on the ancient monuments of Persia. Also Sir R. K. PORTER, *Travels*, etc.

the court, guards, and envoys from the various satrapies, bringing as tribute the most remarkable productions of their respective countries. The walls and entrances of the buildings in the rear are not less rich in bas-reliefs. There is seen the king in his robes of ceremony; combats of wild beasts, or fabulous animals, with each other or with men. The palace of Persepolis was commenced by Darius and finished by Xerxes.

In the side of the rock, from which was cut the platform serving as the foundation of the building, are two immense tombs. A richly ornamented façade is seen considerably above the level of the ground, and behind this, a square chamber is excavated in the rock. To enter this it has been necessary to force an entrance, for every attempt to find the original opening has been unsuccessful; the rock has been scarped, to render the monument inaccessible. One of these tombs has a long inscription, and is that of Darius; the other with none, must be that of Xerxes.

3. Persian sculpture, as we see it on these monuments, is evidently the offspring of Assyrian art, and is in no way inferior to its original; the execution is even superior, the chisel has been more freely and skilfully used, the respective proportions of the parts of the body are more correct and better kept. But in architecture the Persians showed themselves originators. Doubtless, even in this they borrowed much from Assyria; the staged terraces, the immense exterior sculptures forming processions of figures, the gateways flanked by winged bulls, are all from Nineveh. But the Persians were originators as well as imitators; they entirely changed the system of construction.

Bricks and pise* were no longer used, as at Nineveh and Babylon, but the beautiful marble from the Persian mountains was employed for the walls and columns, to the exclusion of every other material; the stone was cut with wonderful exactness, and fitted with extraordinary correctness. The architraves and ceilings were of wood, painted and partly covered with plates of metal. But the distinguishing and peculiar characteristic of Persian architecture is the column. In the palaces at Susa and Persepolis, columns were erected in profusion, and all of them have the same appearance. Having to bear only a light load, as there were no upper stories, and all above was of wood, they were of wonderful lightness, resembling the trunk of a tall slender tree. No other people have erected columns so elegant or so graceful. The pillars at Persepolis have a height of thirty times the diameter of the shaft; they are evidently an imitation, in stone, of buildings originally constructed of light wood. These pillars are distinguished from everything used by the Egyptians, by the Greeks, and even by the Assyrians,

* See Vol. i., p. 457.

by their curiously fantastic capitals, their great length, terminating in two or more tiers of inverted volutes, and surmounted by the half bodies of two bulls, on which the architrave rested. Persian architecture is an art with distinctive features of its own, and uniting in the highest degree the two elements of elegance and grandeur.

Section VII.—The Chanceries of Darius and the Persian Writing.

1. Ruling over such wide-spread lands, and nations of such various races, Darius, in the organisation of his empire, was obliged to continue, and still further extend, the old system of the Ninevite kings, in having several chanceries, and to use many languages in official documents. On the coast of Asia Minor, decrees were published in Greek; in Cappadocia, Cilicia, Syria, and Palestine, in Aramæan; for the government of Egypt, the native language and hieroglyphic characters were used exactly as in the time of the Pharaohs; in Central Asia, the Achæmenian inscriptions, from the time of Cyrus to that of Darius Nothus, are composed in three languages, all in cuneiform characters—Persian, the Turanian Median, and Assyrian.

2. We have already spoken of the writing and modes of expression of the two latter languages.* The alphabet of the Persian is entirely different, and has nothing in common with the writing of Babylon and Assyria beyond the cuneiform shape of the marks forming the letters. Grotefend was the first to undertake its decipherment, and he succeeded in fixing the value of a part of the characters. His labours were continued with success by Saint Martin and the Danish *savant*, Rask. But the labours which completed the discovery, and raised the results above all suspicion, were those carried on in 1836 simultaneously by Eugene Burnouf and M. Lassen. Dr. Hincks and Sir H. Rawlinson also occupied themselves with the work, and finally M. Oppert cleared up the last remaining difficulties of the subject. The origin of this system of writing must, it seems, be sought in Bactria. Originally, it was probably syllabic; but in the inscription of the Achæmenians it has already lost that character, and is found to be purely alphabetical, and to consist of thirty-six letters, as in the following table:—

A (initial).

I.

 U.

 H.

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* See Vol. i. p. 431, *seq.*

A.

A. or W (with a, u).

V (with i).

K (with a, i).

K (with u).

G (with a, i).

G (with u).

Kh.

C. Ch.

J (with a, u).

J (with i).

T (with a, i).

T (with u).

D (with a).

D (with i).

D (with u).

Th.

P.

B.

F.

N (with a, i)

N (with u).

M (with a).

M (with i).

M (with u).

R (with a, i).

R (with u).

S.

Sh.

Z.

Tr.

L.

Sign of disjunction universally adopted.*

* On the subject of the Persian cuneiform writing, see Grotefend, *Prævia de cuneatis quas vocant inscriptionibus Persepolitanis legendis et explicandis relatio.* Göttingen, 1802.—Burnouf, *Mémoire sur deux inscriptions cunéiformes trouvées près de Hamadan.* Paris, 1836.—Lassen, *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften von Persepolis.* Bonn, 1836.—The elaborate memoir on the cuneiform inscriptions, by Sir H. C. Rawlinson, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x. London, 1846.—Hincks, *On the First and Second Kinds of Persepolitan Writing.* Dublin, 1846.—Oppert, *Das Lautsystem des Altpersischen.* Berlin, 1847.—Menant, *Les Écritures Cunéiformes.* Paris, 1864.

SECTION VIII.—DARIUS AND THE HEBREWS—BUILDING OF THE SECOND TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM.

1. WE have already related that Cyrus, immediately on his becoming master of Babylon, had shown himself favourably inclined towards the Hebrews, and had permitted those of the captives scattered through the various provinces of the Chaldæan empire, who desired it, to return to Jerusalem; and had appointed Sheshbazzar as governor, with authority to rebuild the Temple destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. We have also mentioned the opposition Sheshbazzar met with in carrying out his work from the neighbouring nations,—an opposition exhibited both in hostile attacks and also in complaints at the court of Persia. During the life of Cyrus these complaints met with no attention; but when, after his death, his son Cambyses succeeded him, the Cutheans of Samaria, with whom the Jews had declined all intercourse on their wishing to take part in the rebuilding of the Temple, considering them as foreigners, revenged themselves by making two successive reports to the king, pretending that the chief who was established at Jerusalem was rebuilding the walls of the city instead of the Temple, and preparing to raise an insurrection and declare himself independent. Cambyses, suspicious by nature, listened readily to this report, which he believed, and commanded that the Jews should cease their work until further orders. The governors of Samaria, armed with the royal firman, hastened to Jerusalem, and put a stop to the works on the Temple, then hardly commenced.

2. On the death of Cambyses, the false Smerdis, and then Darius, succeeded him, and the Jews did not venture to contravene the prohibition that had been laid on their work. The long interruption of the building of the Temple had discouraged the most zealous, who supposed that the full time for the rebuilding of the Temple of Jehovah had not yet arrived. Every one at Jerusalem was busied with his own affairs; they were building houses, and employing every method of increasing their own well-being, in entire forgetfulness of the Temple. However, in the midst of the disorders of the first years of the reign of Darius, a great revival of national spirit took place among the Jews in Babylon and the neighbouring countries; a great desire was manifested to return to the Holy City; and we do not at all know what causes brought about this movement. A descendant of David, the Prince Zerubbabel, grandson of Salathiel, son of Jehoiachin, united with Jeshua, grandson of the high-priest Seriah, and heir to the high-priesthood. Availing themselves of the terms of the proclamation of Cyrus, they organised a great caravan of more than 50,000 persons of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with many hundreds of priests, Levites, and those servants of the sanctuary who were called Nethinim. This body of exiles took

the road for Jerusalem, where they arrived after a journey of four months. This occurred in the second year of Darius (520).

Immediately on the arrival of the new colony in Judea, Zerubbabel and Joshua occupied themselves in organising a new community, as much in conformity with the Mosaic law as circumstances would permit. A provisional system of worship was organised, but Zerubbabel was prevented from beginning his work on the Temple by fear of his hostile neighbours. Matters remained in this position for two years; but, in 518, a prophet, named Haggai, came to Zerubbabel and the high-priest Joshua, and pressed them to commence at once the restoration of the Temple, on which depended both the unity of the nation and its faith. There had been a famine in the previous year, and the prophet represented this as a divine punishment on those who had built their own houses, and allowed the house of God to remain in ruins. These words made so much impression on the people, that in a few days the works were commenced. In the course of the year Haggai, on two occasions, brought encouragement to the chiefs of the people, and announced that the glory of the second Temple should surpass that of the first. At this time also Zechariah began to prophesy, and to urge the people to re-establish completely their legal worship, the Mosaic law, and especially to cultivate a truly religious spirit.

3. These works, carried on zealously, before long attracted the attention of Tatnai, satrap of the province of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. He came to Jerusalem, accompanied by the other officers of the province, and asked the Jews what authority they had for carrying on these works. The Hebrews appealed to the edict of Cyrus, but they had no official copy, and the satrap did not know it. Tatnai, however, was not ill-disposed towards them; without ordering the suspension of the works, he made a report to Darius, and requested him to direct a search to be made in the archives of the kingdom, to see if there really was such a decree in favour of the Jews. The proclamation was found at Ecbatana, and Darius ordered strict attention to be paid to the wishes of Cyrus, and that all the assistance the Jews required should be given them. The building of the Temple then advanced with speed, and in the sixth year of Darius (516), on the third day of the twelfth month (February, March), the works were completed, and the new sanctuary solemnly inaugurated. From all parts the people repaired to Jerusalem, to assist at the solemnity. A great sacrifice was offered of one hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, and four hundred lambs; and besides this, as a sin-offering for all Israel, twelve he-goats, according to the number of the twelve tribes of Israel; and thus the Temple was symbolically consecrated by the whole Hebrew race.

4. We have no description of the Temple built by Zerubbabel, and we do not even with certainty know its dimensions. By the decree of

Cyrus it should have been larger than that of Solomon; but circumstances did not allow these ambitious projects to be carried out, and it is certain that both in dimensions and splendour the second Temple was inferior to the first. If we may credit Hecatæus of Abdera, a contemporary of Alexander,* the enclosure round the Temple was about 500 Greek feet long, and 100 cubits broad. According to a speech ascribed by Josephus to Herod, the building of Zerubbabel was not so lofty as that of Solomon. Above the eastern gate leading to the enclosure there was, according to a Jewish tradition, a bas-relief representing the city of Susa, as a compliment to the Persian king. The great altar in the court was built of large white, undressed stones; according to Hecatæus, it measured twenty cubits square and twelve cubits high. In the interior of the sanctuary there were only the articles appointed for the tabernacle of Moses—the altar of incense, the candlestick, and the table of shewbread, all of gold. The holy of holies was empty, for the ark of the covenant was lost in the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. It was said that the prophet Jeremiah had hidden it in a cave in Mount Nebo, and that the place could not be found.†

Section 9.—The Scythians of Europe.

1. After having, as we have already related, crushed all revolts and reorganised his empire, Darius believed that it would be wise policy to preserve internal peace by occupying his people, and particularly the Persians, in foreign wars. His pride, moreover, urged him to make foreign conquests, so that he might not be inferior to his predecessors. Cyrus had conquered Asia, Cambyses Africa, and Darius resolved to make himself master of Europe. With this intention, and under the double pretext of preventing for the future the always imminent invasions of the Scythians, and of punishing them for the supremacy they

* Quoted by Josephus, Contra Apion, i. 22.

† Of the subsequent fate of the vessels and utensils of the Temple, it is only known that they were removed by Titus to Rome, exhibited in his triumph and represented on the triumphal arch, and then deposited in the Temple of Peace. When Rome was taken by Genesric, these vessels were removed with the other spoils to Carthage. When that city was captured by Belisarius, the sacred vessels were borne in triumph to Constantinople, and were restored by Justinian to Jerusalem, and there deposited in the "Christian Church" (probably the church erected by Justinian within the Haram area). Nothing more is known of them, but it seems probable that they finally disappeared at the sack of Jerusalem by Chosroes II., king of Persia, in A.D. 614.

LIBRARY 127

had exercised over all Asia in the time of Cyaxares, the king set out on foot a great expedition against them.

2. The Greek word "Scythians," and the Persian "Sakas," were synonymous, and were generally applied to all the nomadic tribes living in the immense plains north of the Black Sea, the Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, and the Lake Aral, as well as still further to the east, without distinction of the race to which they belonged, and was therefore applied to nations of very different origin. The Asiatic Scythians, to whom the Persian name Saka had been first applied, who in the time of Cyaxares penetrated as far as Palestine, laying waste all the country they passed through, were unquestionably of Turanian, or Ugro-finnish race, and were the ancestors of the devastating hordes of Genghis and Timour. These were the people Cyrus invaded in the expedition to the Jaxartes, where he was killed. The European Scythians, on the contrary, as we have grounds for believing, from the study of numerous remains of Greek art representing this race, and found in Southern Russia,* belonged to the Japhetic or Indo-European race, and were connected with the Germanic branch. These were the first known to the Greeks, and to them was originally applied the Greek name *Scythians*, though afterwards extended to the Turanian races; for in the word Scythian it is easy to recognise the old Gothic word *Skiatha*, "Archer."

The long and curious description given by Herodotus of the manners and country of the Scythians, applies only to these latter, the Scythians properly so called, tribes of Arian origin, from the steppes of Russia, inhabiting chiefly the district between the Borysthenes (Dnieper) and the Tanais (Don). With the aid of the narrative given by the father of history, and of the archæological remains to which we have alluded, we have now a very fair knowledge of these people. Their power was at its greatest height at the time when Darius attacked them, and Herodotus described their manners; soon after that, it declined; the tribes migrated gradually eastward; and in the time of Mithridates, the Scythians were of little importance on the shores of the Euxine Sea. They had nearly disappeared from that region, and their country either remained desert, or was occupied by the Sarmatians.

3. At the period of their greatest power the European-Scythians formed a great confederation, composed of many independent tribes, who had each their own chief, religious belief, and peculiar customs. But there was among them one privileged tribe, like, in later times, the Amales among the Goths, and the Salyes among the Franks, who exercised a sort of supremacy over the rest of the nation, and from whom

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* See CH. LENORMANT, "Mémoire sur les Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmerien," in vol. xxiv. of the *Mémoire de L'Académie des Inscriptions*.

a king was chosen to maintain the religious and political unity of the race, and who in times of national danger took command of the whole of the Scythian forces: this tribe was called Scoloti ("buckler men," Gothic *skildus*, Norse *skiældr*), by the Greeks, Royal Scythians, on account of their privileges.

We have no definite facts as to the Scythian tribes who lived between the Ister (Danube) and the Tyras (the Dniester); in Bessarabia they seem to have been nomadic, and but thinly scattered over the country, as Herodotus does not mention them. Between the Tyras and the Hypanis (the Bog), the shore was inhabited by a mixed population of Greek colonists and natives who were called Tyritæ; the interior was peopled by the Neuri ("the wolves," Norse *narfi*), a powerful tribe of pure Scythian race; the southern part of their territory was on the two banks of the Hypanis, and extended northward until the steppes became sterile and desert; the desert after a few days' journey gave place again to habitable land, where were found the savage race of Androphagi ("man eaters"), of a different origin to the Scythians, probably Finnish, who spread far to the east. Beyond the Hypanis, between that river and the Borysthenes, on the banks of the lagoon into which both the rivers flowed, were found first the Callipedæ ("laborers" Polish *chlop*), Scythians almost entirely civilised, from contact with the Milesian colony of Olbia, planted in the midst of their territory; they had, like a part of the Scoloti in later times round Panticapeum, now Kertsch, adopted to a very great extent the manners of the Greeks. Beyond them, in the interior, lived the Alazones, less completely Hellenized, but who had however given up their nomadic habits, taken to agriculture, and exported largely to Greece the corn raised on their fertile plains. The Alazones were bounded on the north by the Neuri. These again were Scythians who had adopted a settled and agricultural life, and who occupied, beyond the Borysthenes and the forest of Hylæa, a district extending to the river Panticapes, three days' journey to the east; their territory was eleven days' journey straight across, and the voyage up the Borysthenes required fourteen days, because of the windings of the river. A place was then reached, named Gerrhus, where were found the tombs of the supreme kings of Scythia, and where it was said the river Gerrhus communicated with the Borysthenes before it flowed eastward, and emptied itself into the Mæotic Gulf (Sea of Azof).

At the Panticapes commenced the territory of the nomadic Scythians (who remained faithful to the ancient manners and customs of their nation), extending to the Tanais. These people lived on horse flesh, and on the milk of their mares, milked by slaves whose eyes they put out to prevent them from escaping. They did not cultivate the soil; and, like some of the Tartar hordes of the present day, they lived in wagons, and moved about constantly from one part of the steppes to

another in search of pasturage. There were among them two principal tribes,—one whose name Herodotus does not give, lived between the Panticapes and the Gerrhus; the other the Scoloti, or Royal Scythians, between the Gerrhus and the Tanais; the territory of the latter bordered on the Mæotic Gulf to the south, and extended northward twenty days' journey. Then came the land of the Melanchlæni, or "men of dark clothing," who had the same manners and customs as the Scythians, but spoke a different language, and probably belonged to the Finnish stock. The nomadic tribes thought themselves more noble than the others, and looked down with scorn on those Scythians who had abandoned a life of freedom on the steppes, to settle down to an agricultural life. Those nomads composed the chief military strength of the nation.

4. "They worship only the following gods, namely, Vesta, whom they reverence beyond all the rest: Jupiter, and Tellus, whom they consider to be the wife of Jupiter; and after these Apollo, Celestial Venus, Hercules and Mars. These gods are worshipped by the whole nation: the Royal Scythians offer sacrifice likewise to Neptune. In the Scythic tongue, Vesta is called *Tabiti*[1] Jupiter (very properly, in my judgment) *Papæus*[2], Tellus *Apia*[3], Apollo *Œtosyrus*[4], Celestial Venus *Artimpata*[5], and Neptune *Thamimasadas*. They use no images, altars, or temples, except in the worship of Mars[6]; but in his worship they do use them."*

"In every district at the seat of government, there stands a temple of this god, whereof the following is a description. It is a pile of brushwood, made of a vast quantity of fagots, in length and breadth three furlongs, in height somewhat less, having a square platform upon the top, three sides of which are precipitous, while the fourth slopes so that men may walk up it. Each year a hundred and fifty wagon-loads of brushwood are added to the pile, which sinks continually by reason of the rains. An antique iron sword is planted on the top of every such mound, and serves as the image of Mars: yearly sacrifices of cattle and of horses are made to it, and more victims are offered thus than to all the rest of their gods. When prisoners are taken in war, out of every

[1] The fire (Sanscrit *dhavita*.)

[2] *Papæus*, "ancestor," Greek πάππος; Armenian, *pap*.

[3] *Apia*, earth.

[4] *Oitosyrus*, the Sun; in some Greek inscriptions of the Cimmerian Bosphorus the form *Oitoscyrus* is found.

[5] *Artimpasa*, "the noble lady," 1st element, Sanscrit, *arthin*; Gothic, *arleins*, "noble"; 2nd element, Sanscrit, *pati*; Gothic, *fath*, "lord."

[6] The Zio of the Suevi, Ty of the Frisons, Tyr of the Scandinavian Edda; the Saxnot, or Swordbearing god, of the Saxons, whom the Quadi and Alani of the Roman period worshipped under the form of a naked sword.

* HER. iv. 59.

hundred men they sacrifice one, not however with the same rites as the cattle, but with different. Libations of wine are first poured upon their heads, after which they are slaughtered over a vessel; the vessel is then carried up to the top of the pile, and the blood poured upon the scymitar. While this takes place at the top of the mound, below, by the side of the temple, the right hands and arms of the slaughtered prisoners are cut off, and tossed on high into the air. Then the other victims are slain, and those who have offered the sacrifice depart, leaving the hands and arms where they may chance to have fallen, and the bodies also separate.*

5. "In what concerns war, their customs are the following:—The Scythian soldier drinks the blood of the first man he overthrows in battle. Whatever number he slays he cuts off all their heads, and carries them to the king; since he is thus entitled to a share of the booty, whereto he forfeits all claim if he does not produce a head. In order to strip the skull of its covering, he makes a cut round the head above the ears, and laying hold of the scalp shakes the skull out; then with the rib of an ox he scrapes the scalp clean of flesh, and softening it by rubbing between the hands, uses it thenceforth as a napkin. The Scyth is proud of these scalps, and hangs them from his bridle-rein; the greater the number of such napkins that a man can show the more highly is he esteemed among them. Many make themselves cloaks, like the capotes of our peasants, by sewing a quantity of these scalps together. Others flay the right arms of their dead enemies, and make of the skin, which is stripped off with the nails hanging to it, a covering for their quivers. Now the skin of a man is thick and glossy, and would in whiteness surpass almost all other hides. Some even flay the entire body of their enemy, and stretching it upon a frame, carry it about with them wherever they ride. Such are the Scythian customs with regard to scalps and skins.

"The skulls of their enemies, not indeed of all, but of those whom they most detest, they treat as follows:—Having sawn off the portion below the eyebrows, and cleaned out the inside, they cover the outside with leather. When a man is poor, this is all that he does; but if he is rich, he also lines the inside with gold; in either case, the skull is used as a drinking-cup. They do the same with the skulls of their own kith and kin, if they have been at feud with them, and have vanquished them in the presence of the king. When strangers whom they deem of any account come to visit them, these skulls are handed round, and the host tells how that these were his relations who made war upon him, and how that he got the better of them; all this being looked upon as proof of bravery.

* HER. iv. 62.

"Once a year the governor of each district, at a set place in his own province, mingles a bowl of wine, of which all Scythians have a right to drink by whom foes have been slain, while they who have slain no enemy are not allowed to taste of the bowl, but sit aloof in disgrace. No greater shame than this can happen to them. Such as have slain a very large number of foes have two cups instead of one, and drink from both."* This last custom is depicted on a gold patera of Grecian workmanship, discovered in a tomb at the Panticapes.

"Oaths among the Scyths are accompanied with the following ceremonies:—A large earthen bowl is filled with wine, and the parties to the oath, wounding themselves slightly with a knife or an awl, drop some of their blood into the wine; then they plunge into the mixture a scymitar, some arrows, a battle-axe, and a javelin, all the while repeating prayers; lastly, the two contracting parties drink each a draught from the bowl, as do also the chief men among their followers."†

6. "When the king dies they dig a grave, which is square in shape, and of great size. When it is ready, they take the king's corpse, and having opened the belly and cleaned out the inside, fill the cavity with a preparation of chopped cyperus, frankincense, parsley-seed, and aniseed; after which they sew up the opening, enclose the body in wax, and placing it on a waggon, carry it about through all the different tribes. On this procession, each tribe, when it receives the corpse, imitates the example which is first set by the royal Scythians: every man chops off a piece of his ear, crops his hair close, makes a cut all round his arm, lacerates his forehead and his nose, and thrusts an arrow through his left hand. Then they who have the care of the corpse carry it with them to another of the tribes which are under the Scythian rule, followed by those whom they first visited. On completing the circuit of all the tribes under their sway, they find themselves in the country of the Gerrhi, who are the most remote of all, and so they come to the tombs of the kings. There the body of the dead king is laid in the grave prepared for it, stretched upon a mattrass; spears are fixed in the ground on either side of the corpse, and beams stretched across above it to form a roof, which is covered with a thatching of osier twigs. In the open space around the body of the king they bury one of his concubines, first killing her by strangling, and also his cupbearer, his groom, his lacquey, his messenger, some of his horses, firstlings of all his other possessions, and some golden cups; for they use neither silver nor brass. After this, they set to work and raise a vast mound above the grave, all of them vying with each other, and seeking to make it as tall as possible.

"When a year is gone by further ceremonies take place. Fifty of

* HER. iv. 64, 65, 66. † Ibid. iv. 70.

the best of the late king's attendants are taken, all native Scythians—for as bought slaves are unknown in the country, the Scythian kings choose any of their subjects that they like to wait on them—fifty of these are taken and strangled, with fifty of the most beautiful horses. When they are dead, their bowels are taken out and the cavity cleaned, filled full of chaff, and straightway sewn up again. This done, a number of posts are driven into the ground, in sets of two pairs each, and on every pair half the felly of a wheel is placed archwise; then strong stakes are run lengthwise through the bodies of the horses from tail to neck, and they are mounted upon the fellies, so that the felly in front supports the shoulders of the horse, while that behind sustains the belly and quarters, the legs dangling in mid-air; each horse is furnished with a bit and bridle, which latter is stretched out in front of the horse and fastened to a peg. The fifty strangled youths are then mounted severally on the fifty horses. To effect this, a second stake is passed through their bodies along the course of the spine to the neck, the lower end of which projects from the body, and is fixed into a socket made in the stake that runs lengthwise down the horse. The fifty riders are thus ranged in a circle round the tomb, and so left."*

7. At the time of the expedition of Darius, and a little later, when Herodotus wrote, the Scythians were separated by the Danube on the south from a Thracian people called the Getæ, who inhabited the country called by the Romans in later times Mœsia, that is, the Bulgaria of our days, between the Balkan and the river.

"The belief of the Getæ in respect of immortality is the following:—They think that they do not really die, but that when they depart this life they go to Zalmoxis, who is called also Gebeleïzis by some among them. To this god every five years they send a messenger, who is chosen by lot out of the whole nation, and charged to bear him their several requests. Their mode of sending him is this: A number of them stand in order, each holding in his hand three darts; others take the man who is to be sent to Zalmoxis, and swinging him by his hands and feet, toss him into the air so that he falls upon the points of the weapons. If he is pierced and dies, they think that the god is propitious to them; but if not, they lay the fault on the messenger, who (they say) is a wicked man, and so they choose another to send away. The messages are given while the man is still alive. This same people, when it lightens and thunders, aim their arrows at the sky, uttering threats against the god; and they do not believe that there is any god but their own."†

West of the Scythians, in the mountainous district now called Wallachia and Transylvania, was another Thracian tribe, the Agathyrsi,

* HER. iv. 71, 72. † Ibid. iv. 94.

"the very hardy," who were generally in alliance with the Scythian confederation. Herodotus* says that the strange custom of a community of wives prevailed among them, as well as among the other Thracians. The people bordering them on the north-west were the Neuri, of whom we have spoken, and who, although of Scythian origin, had their own king, independent of the authority of the Scoloti. They occupied Podolia and Volhynia. The agricultural and nomadic Scythians of the banks of the Borysthenes, and of the district between that river and the Tanais, adjoined on the north the two nations of the Androphagi and Melanchlæni, who it is possible were of Finnish origin. The former lived in Lesser Russia, in the province of Tchernigov; the latter in the Ukraine, and the provinces of Koursk and Voronez. They were said to be addicted to magic; and the Scythians told of them the same strange stories as, in later times, the Scandinavians told of the Finns, with whom they fought on the shores of the Baltic.

On the east, the Tanais separated the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatæ, the "northern men" (Norse, *madr*; Russian, *siever*; Norse, *skur*; Old German, *schauer*, "shivering"), who advanced step by step in the succeeding ages, first into the old Scythian territory, next into Lithuania and the southern coast of the Baltic; but who were at this time concentrated in the country bounded on the north by the Tanais and the Rha (Volga), to the west by the Palus Mæotis, to the east by the Caspian Sea, and to the south by the Caucasus. Herodotus and Hippocrates consider the Sauromatæ as a branch of the Scythians, speaking a different dialect, and distinguished from their neighbours by the warlike habits of their women, in whom the Greeks supposed they had found the fabulous Amazons. There have been as many conflicting conjectures as to the origin of the Sauromatæ as of the Scythians; but the opinion that appears most probable, supported by the highest authorities, and admitted by most scholars, is, that the Sauromatæ were of Arian origin, and that they were the ancestors of the Slavonians. In fact, when we follow their history in after ages, and their long migration westward, we see that there sprung from them the Wends, or Slavonians of Prussia and Mecklenburg, the Lygians of Tacitus, that is the Leches or Poles, and also the Slavonians of Illyria and the Danube.

North of the Sauromatæ, and still between the Tanais, or Don, and the Oarus, or Volga, in the provinces of Tambov and Saratov, were the Budini, "a numerous people," says Herodotus,† "with light blue eyes and bright red hair." This tribe was of great importance among the other nations in a religious point of view; its temples, its worship, its feasts, were celebrated far and wide. The majority of this race led a

* HER. iv. 104. † Ibid. iv. 108.

pastoral life; but there were also in the country some who had settled down to agricultural pursuits, and even a large city, Gelonus, built entirely of wood, as are some towns in the same country even now, Astrakhan, for instance. With the Budini were mixed up another race, the Geloni, who professed to be descendants of Greek colonists on the banks of the Palus Mæotis, that had been compelled to migrate into the interior.

The name of the Budini seems to point them out as worshippers of Woden or Odin; and the description Herodotus gives of them furnishes strong arguments for considering them as ancestors of the Scandinavians, who arrived in the northern peninsula of Europe only a short time before the Christian era. The traditions of the Edda, and of the Sagas of Scandinavia, all agree in pointing out some country in the neighbourhood of the Mæotic Gulf as the original settlement of this people, where the Ases—the name given in these traditions to the primitive Scandinavians, worshippers of Odin—had already attained, to a certain degree of civilisation, and had a great city, their religious metropolis, such as Upsal in Scandinavia was in later times, Asgard, "the City of Ases;" and this we are much tempted to identify with the Gelonus of Herodotus.

The country north and north-east of the Budini was the exclusive possession of Turanian races, Uralian or Ugro-finnish, whom, as we have already said, were spread to the north of the Nomadic and Royal Scythians, and who formed the majority of the races termed Thudes by the Russian and Scandinavian writers of the middle ages. These were first the Thyssagetæ, a numerous tribe of hunters; on their southern frontier were the sources of the principal tributaries of the Tanais, they therefore occupied the present provinces of Penza, Simbirsk, and Kazan. To the east of these, in what is now called the province of Orenburg, and as far as the foot of the Ural mountains, was another race, whose name has two forms, both of them Turanian, the one, Tyrcæ, is the same as Turks, and the other, Iyrcæ, as Uigours. The southern part of the Ural mountains, that which is now called Bashkique Ural, was inhabited by the Argippæi, whom Herodotus describes as exactly resembling the Kalmucks and Bashkirs of our time. This was a sacred tribe, and seems to have been privileged to supply the *chamans* of all the other tribes of the same race. Greek merchants from Panticapæum visited their territory to purchase the gold found further to the north, in the province of Perm, by the Arimaspi, or "one-eyed men;" the merchants did not visit the land of these latter people, and a host of fabulous stories were told of them. Beyond the Ural mountains, between the Tobol and the Irtish, in Southern Siberia, were the Issedones, who were also visited by the merchants of Panticapæum to procure gold from the mines of the Altai.

"The Issedonians are said to have the following customs:—When a man's father dies, all the near relatives bring sheep to the house, which are sacrificed, and their flesh cut in pieces, while at the same time the dead body undergoes the like treatment. The two sorts of flesh are afterwards mixed together, and the whole is served up at a banquet. The head of the dead man is treated differently; it is stripped bare, cleansed, and set in gold. It then becomes an ornament on which they pride themselves, and is brought out year by year at the great festival which sons keep in honour of their father's death, just as the Greeks keep their Genesia."*

Further south, close to the Caspian Sea, the Rha or Volga formed the western boundary of the Asiatic or Turanian Scythians, whom the Sauromatæ and Budini thus separated from the European or Arian Scythians. Herodotus calls them Sacæ, adopting and Hellenising the Persian Çaka. They extended far eastward; and their most powerful tribe was the Massagetæ, between the Lake of Aral and the chain of the Imaus.

8. To close our account of the nations bordering on the Scythians, and who played, as we shall find, an important part in the events consequent on the invasion of Darius, it remains only to say a few words on some not very numerous tribes who lived to the south of the Scythians, in the Crimea, and on the shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. The Crimea was then called the Chersonesus Taurica. The eastern and northern part was inhabited by the Royal Scythians or Scoloti, the western and southern by a people called Tauri, of the same stock as the Thracians. These latter had built on the southern extremity of the peninsula, where the monastery of St. George now stands (occupied by the French troops during the Crimean campaign), a famous temple to a warrior virgin goddess, whom the Greeks considered the same as their Diana, where they sacrificed shipwrecked strangers, and where, in the mythical story, Orestes was recognised by Iphiegenia. Very near this, in later times, the Greek colonists built the city of Chersonesus, where Sebastopol now stands.

The Cimmerian Bosphorus derived its name from its Celto-Cimmerian population, who were settled there for some time, and, as we have already said, made incursions into Asia Minor. The important Greek city of Panticapæum, the chief mart for the commerce in gold with the Ural and Altai, situated on these straits, was the capital of a flourishing little kingdom ruled by Hellenised Scythian princes. The territory of this city, comprising the whole of the peninsula of Kertch, was inhabited by a mixed Greco-Scythian race, and was defended by a long wall—the remains of which still exist—from the incursions of the

* HER. iv. 26.

Scythian Scoloti. Two small nations, on the other side of the strait, whose origin and precise place in the ethnographical chart we do not know, were subjects of this kingdom. In the islands, now joined to the main land by the alluvium of the Kouban, there were the Sindi, mixed with some small remains of Cimmerians; and on the east coast of the Mæotic Gulf, to which they gave its name, the Mæotians or Maiti, close to the Sauromatæ.

Section X.—Expedition of Darius against the Scythians. (508). Conquest of Thrace. (506).

1. Darius, having resolved to carry his arms into the land of the European Scythians, and to bring them under his government, intended no doubt to return from his expedition by way of the Asiatic Scythians, and reduce them to obedience. His brother, Artabanus, in vain attempted to dissuade him from this expedition, by representing to him the poverty of the Scythians and the difficulties of the enterprise. Darius marched from Susa with 700,000 men. In this army were the three sons of a Persian named Æobazes, who begged Darius to leave him one of his sons. This seemed to indicate either a doubt of his success or an unwillingness to serve him, and deeply offended the despot. Darius replied that he would leave him all three, and caused them at once to be killed, and their slaughtered bodies to be left on the road.

In the meanwhile a bridge of boats had been thrown by his orders, by Mandrocles of Samos, over the Bosphorus, near Byzantium. On his arrival there he ordered the Ionians to sail up the Euxine as far as the Ister, and to build another bridge over that river; the fleet consisted of 600 ships.

The Thracians of Salmydessus, in the neighbourhood of Apollonia and Mesembria, submitted without resistance to the king of Persia. The Getæ, on the other hand, attempted opposition; but they were reduced to slavery. The Ister was crossed without difficulty, and Darius left the Ionians to guard the bridge they had built.

2. In the meantime, the arival of the Persians had caused the greatest alarm to the Scythians and the neighbouring nations. The kings of the Tauri, the Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, Budini, and Sauromatæ met in council with the king and chiefs of the Scythians. The latter wished all the nations to assemble their whole forces to await the Persians, and crush them in a decisive battle, as they could bring even a larger number of men into the field than the invaders. The

Budini and Sauromatæ professed themselves ready to make common cause with the Scythians, whatever might be the fortune of the war. The Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, and the Tauri, however, desired to remain neutral, hoping thus to avoid the evils of war. The Scythians and their allies then decided, instead of fighting the Persians, to retire slowly before them, stopping the wells, and destroying the fruits of the earth, so as to lead them on to a distance from their base of operations, and also to march straight for the country of those nations who had refused to enter the confederation, so as if possible to force them to fight the Persians.

3. This plan succeeded perfectly, the Persians saw nothing before them but desert, and suffered very much in their march. But Darius persisted in pursuit of the Scythians, who retreated before him, keeping only a day's march in advance. He reached in this way the mouth of the Tanais; and on the other bank the Sauromatæ appeared in arms. The Persians crossed the river, and then the Sauromatæ followed the example of the Scythians, and, retreating northward, drew Darius into the country of the Budini, who also avoided a battle, and made their country a desert. Darius enraged, burnt their city Gelonus, which was deserted by its inhabitants. In this way he reached the river Oaros, one of the affluents of the Tanais, probably the Vorona. On the banks of this river, he built in the neighbourhood of the present city of Borrissoglewsk, eight large castles, at a distance of sixty stades from each other, and intended to leave garrisons in them.

But whilst he was occupied with these buildings, his scouts brought word that the great army of the Scythians, which they had lost sight of since they left the banks of the Tanais, had again appeared one day's journey to the west. Leaving his forts unfinished, Darius again set out in pursuit of his enemies, who, as formerly, retreated before him. Drawing on the Persian king, whose army was gradually melting away from the fatigues of these unending marches, the Scythians led the way in a direction contrary to that they had before taken, into the territories of the Finnish tribes, who desired to remain neutral, and thus compelled them to take up arms against the invaders. Darius, constantly pursuing this ever-flying foe, marched through the whole length of the country of the Melanchlæni and Androphagi, and reached at last the territory of the Neuri. The Scythians intended then to lead him into the land of the Agathyrsi, and probably to attack him in the defiles of the Transylvanian mountains; but they were compelled to give up that idea, for the Agathyrsi threatened to join the Persians if the invaders were drawn into their country. Retracing their steps, therefore, the host, led by Indathyrses, king of the Scoloti, manœuvred so as to lead the Persians into the heart of Scythia.

4. But on arriving near the Borysthenes, Darius at last gave up this

fruitless pursuit, he halted, established his army in an entrenched camp, and then challenged Indathyrses to fight. The Scythian king answered thus:—"This is my way, Persian. I never fear men or fly from them. I have not done so in times past, nor do I now fly from thee. There is nothing new or strange in what I do; I only follow my common mode of life in peaceful years. Now I will tell thee why I do not at once join battle with thee. We Scythians have neither towns nor cultivated lands, which might induce us, through fear of their being taken or ravaged, to be in any hurry to fight with you. If, however, you must needs come to blows with us speedily, look you now, there are our fathers' tombs—seek them out, and attempt to meddle with them; then ye shall see whether or no we will fight with you. Till ye do this, be sure we shall not join battle, unless it pleases us. This is my answer to the challenge to fight. As for lords, I acknowledge only Jove my ancestor, and Vesta, the Scythian Queen. Earth and water, the tribute thou askedst, I do not send, but thou shalt soon receive more suitable gifts."* "These were a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bearer to tell them what these gifts might mean, but he made answer that he had no orders except to deliver them, and return again with all speed. If the Persians were wise, he added, they would find out the meaning for themselves. So when they heard this, they held a council to consider the matter.

Darius gave it as his opinion, that the Scythians intended a surrender of themselves and their country, both land and water, into his hands. This he conceived to be the meaning of the gifts, because the mouse is an inhabitant of the earth, and eats the same food as man, while the frog passes his life in the water; the bird bears a great resemblance to the horse, and the arrows might signify the surrender of all their power. To the explanation of Darius, Gobryas, one of the seven conspirators against the Magus, opposed another which was as follows:—"Unless, Persians, ye can turn into birds and fly up into the sky, or become mice and burrow under the ground, or make yourselves frogs, and take refuge in the fens, ye will never make escape from this land, but die pierced by our arrows."†

5. In the meantime, the number of days fixed by Darius for his return to the Ister, had passed. A body of Scythians who had been left to guard the neighbourhood of the Mæotic gulf, approached that river, and having addressed themselves to the Ionians, urged them to break the bridge entrusted to their charge, and to return to their country, as liberty would be the result of the destruction of the Persian king and his army. The Ionians deliberated over the matter, and Miltiades the

* HER. iv. 127. † HER. iv. 131, 132.

Athenian, who a few years afterwards immortalised his name at Marathon, and who was then tyrant, or supreme chief for life, of the city of Chersonesus on the Hellespont, was of opinion that it would be well to follow the advice of the Scythians, and thus liberate Ionia; but Histiæus, tyrant of Miletus, opposed this. He represented to the other tyrants of the Ionian cities that they all retained their position merely by the support of Darius, and that if the power of the king were destroyed, they would lose their own authority, as the cities would prefer democracy to monarchy. The advice of Histiæus was followed, and the Persians thus escaped certain destruction.

6. The Scythians, nevertheless, were in full hope that neither Darius nor any of his army would leave the country alive. To ensure the destruction of the Persians, already weakened by such a long and fruitless campaign in a desert country, they reckoned on "General February," the unfailing and invincible ally of the Russians in all ages. The Persian expedition had been commenced in the spring, but several months had been spent in following over the steppes for more than 500 leagues, the ever flying Scythian army. The cold season was about to commence, and nothing was wanted to enable the forces of Indathyrses to destroy the Persians utterly, but to prolong their stay for a few weeks, until the commencement of the intense cold. When, therefore, the Persian army halted, and remained in its entrenched camp, the Scythians did all they could to give them confidence, and reason to hope for the success they had begun to despair of, so as to induce them to remain longer in the country, and delay their retreat on the Ister. With this intention they permitted the Persians to gain some partial successes in cavalry skirmishes, and to make some successful forays for cattle.

But at last Darius began to see what was the reality of his position, and that to remain longer where he was would be to bring on himself an inevitable and terrible disaster. One night, deceiving the vigilant Scythians, he decamped in the direction of the Ister, abandoning his tents, baggage, and great numbers of sick. The Scythians pursued and cut to pieces the greater part of the Persian infantry. But the king himself, with the cavalry, succeeded in reaching the bridge over the Ister, and after passing it, had the bridge broken, without troubling himself as to the fate of the troops he had left behind. Full of shame and rage at this disaster, he passed through Thrace, and embarked for Asia at Sestos, leaving Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus, one of the seven conspirators against the Magus Gomates, in command of 80,000 men, whom he left in Europe.

7. Megabyzus, giving up all idea of any new expedition against the Scythians, turned his arms against the Thracians, whom in little more than a year, he entirely subjugated. He then sent to the Macedonians,

and required their king Amyntas to give him earth and water, as a mark of submission, and that prince did so without resistance. Megabyzus also occupied Perinthus and Byzantium, the keys of the Thracian Bosphorus, as well as the islands of Imbros and Lemnos, in the Ægæan Sea. Having achieved these results, he passed over into Asia to Sardis, where Darius was, to give him an account of the success of his expedition.

Section XI.—Expeditions to Cyrenaica and India.

1. Whilst Megabyzus was thus subjugating Thrace and Macedonia, two great expeditions were made simultaneously to the two extremities of the empire of Darius, and the success attained consoled in some degree that proud king for the defeat he had sustained from the Scythians.

The first was into Cyrenaica. This country, almost entirely colonised by Dorian Greeks, had been the scene of serious disturbances, culminating in the flight of king Arcesilaus. Restored after a time by the help of the Samians, he severely punished the authors of the revolution, some with death, others with exile. But before long he himself fell a victim, at Barca, to the revenge of the exiles. His mother, Pheretime, who had great influence at Cyrene, where she even assisted at the deliberations of the senate, fled into Egypt, and petitioned Aryandes, the satrap of that province, to avenge the murder of her son, on the pretext that his fate had been occasioned by his friendship for the Persians.

Aryandes gave her a large army. His intention was not merely to punish the people of Barca, but to subjugate the whole of Lybia. The Persians first laid siege to Barca, and at the end of nine months compelled the people to submit to pay tribute to the king. After oaths had been exchanged, the Barcæans, on the faith of the treaty, opened their gates, issued out of their city, and permitted the Persians to enter. The latter then declared that the treaty no longer existed, and took possession of the place. They gave up to Pheretime those of the citizens who had taken part in the murder of her son; she at once ordered them to be crucified round the walls, and having cut off the bosoms of their wives, ranged them also round the walls. The Persians reduced the rest of the inhabitants to slavery. These prisoners were sent to king Darius, and he assigned them lands in Bactria, with a village, to which they gave the name of Barca.

The rest of Cyrenaica submitted at once to the suzerainty of the king of Persia, as they had formerly to Cambyses. Carthage, terrified by the fate of Barca, and fearing an attack from Aryandes, hastened to

avert the danger by offering a tribute, which was paid for some years; and thus Darius was enabled, in the proud inscription on his tomb, still existing on a rock at Persepolis, to reckon the great Phœnician city of Africa as one of his subject states.

2. The other expedition was against the Indians. An army from the province of Gandaritis subjugated the nations who inhabited that part of the Himalaya which the Upper Indus traverses before entering the Punjab, the Campylians (in Sanscrit *Campilya*), Dardæ (*Darada*), in whose country, according to the old legend, were to be found those fabulous ants that collected gold in the mountains; Dyrbeans (*Darba*), Abissares (*Abhisara*), and lastly the land of Kashmere (*Khaçmira*). These people were allowed to retain their national kings, and were included in the seventh satrapy. A fleet was then built on the Indus, near Peucela (*Pushkalavati*), by order of Darius, with timber obtained from the land of Caspapyra, or Cashmere, where the capital was called in Sanscrit *Kaçyapapura*. The command was given to an able Greek admiral, Scylax of Caryanda, who has become celebrated from the voyage he made. The fleet descended the Indus to the sea, and then sailing westward, arrived, after a voyage of three months, at the mouth of the Red Sea, at the same port whence Necho had despatched the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Africa. By this voyage of Scylax, the authority of Darius was established over the whole of the countries between the right bank of the Indus and the Parsyean mountains, and they were formed into the 20th satrapy, termed that of India. The nations contained in that satrapy were, tracing them from north to south, the Xathres (in Sanscrit *Kchatri*), the Ambaslaurans (*Ambastha*), a part of the Sydres (*Çudra*), the Musicanians (*Muschika*) the Sambeans (*Samba*). The district of the delta of the Indus was called Pattalene, the name of its capital was Pattala (*Potala*), situated where the river divides into several branches. But the Persians did not venture to invade the left bank of the river, and especially the land of the five rivers (the Punjab of our days), inhabited by so many warlike nations, and the glory of being the first to conquer them was reserved for Alexander.

3. Darius was not content with these new additions to his dominions. He had obtained a footing in Europe, and contemplated conquests more extensive and brilliant than those of Thrace and Macedonia. To subjugate Greece was now the end of his ambition. The pretext for the attack was furnished by the revolt of Ionia, a revolt set on foot by a tyrant apprehensive of disgrace, and sustained for a time by the assistance of the Athenians, but without resolution or energy. From that time Greece occupied all the thoughts of the Persian monarch, and that great struggle commenced, which by war, by policy, and by war again, was prolonged for a century and a half, until it had brought about the

ruin of the great Asiatic empire, and had entirely transformed Western Asia, by the influence of the arts, civilisation, and language of the Greeks. Here we stop, for, from the commencement of the Median wars, the history of the East is in truth only an episode in the history of Greece, and the latter is from that period the history of the rise and progress of human civilisation.

END OF BOOK V.

BOOK VI.

THE PHŒNICIANS.

CHAPTER I.

PRIMITIVE PHŒNICIAN HISTORY.

Chief Authorities.

Bochart, *Canaan* (Opera Omnia, 1712).—Mignot, *Mémoires sur les Phéniciens*, in the "*Memoirs of the Académie Royale des Inscriptions*," Vols. xxxvi., xxxviii., xl., xlii.—Heeren, *Historical Researches into the Polities, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity.* (Eng. Trans., Oxford, 1833.—Gesenius, *Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta.* Leipzig, 1837.—Movers, *Die Phönizier.* Bonn, 1841.—Judas, *Etude Démonstrative de la Langue Phénicienne.* Paris, 1847.—A. Levy, *Phönizische Studien.* Breslau, 1857—1864. *Phönizisches Wörterbuch.* Breslau, 1864.—Renan, *Mémoire sur l'Origine et le Caractère Véritable de l'Histoire Phénicienne qui porte le nom de Sanchoniathon.* Paris, 1860. *Mission de Phénicie* (in course of publication).

Works on Special Branches of the Subject:—Duc de Luynes, *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie.* Paris, 1846. *Mémoire sur le Sarcophage et l'Inscription Funéraire d'Eschmunazar roi de Sidon.* Paris, 1856.—De Saulcy, *Mémoire sur une Inscription Phénicienne Deterrée à Marseille.* Paris, 1847. *Recherches sur les Inscriptions Votives Phéniciennes et Puniques.* Paris, 1845. *Voyage Autour de la Mer Morte et dans les Terres Bibliques*, Vol. i.—Munk, *Mémoire sur l'Inscription Phénicienne de Marseille.* Paris, 1847. *Essai sur l'Inscription Phénicienne du Sarcophage d'Eschmunazer.* Paris, 1856.—Hitzig, *Die Grabschrift des Eschmunazar.* Leipzig, 1855.—Bargès *l'Inscription de Marseille, Nouvelle Interprétation.* Paris, 1856. *Mémoire sur le Sarcophage et l'Inscription Funéraire d'Eschmunazar.* Paris, 1856.—Ewald, *Erklärung der Grossen Phönizischen Inschrift von Sidon.* Göttingen, 1856.—De Vogüé, *Souvenirs d'une Excursion en Phénicie.* Paris, 1856. *Mémoire sur une Nouvelle Inscription Phénicienne.* Paris, 1860. *Inscriptions Phéniciennes de l'Île de Chypre.* Paris, 1868.—Judas, *Nouvelle Analyse de l'Inscription de Marseille.* Paris, 1857.—Renan, *Inscriptions Phéniciennes d'Oumm el Awamid.* Paris, 1826.—F. Lenormant, *Introduction à un Mémoire*

sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'Ancien Monde. Paris, 1867. *La Légende de Cadmus et les Etablissements Phéniciens en Grèce*, Paris, 1867.

Section I.—Origin and Migration of the Canaanites.

1. The Phœnicians, as we read in the tenth chapter of Genesis, as they themselves asserted, and as their descendants informed Saint Augustine, belonged to the race of Canaan, who were, according to the Biblical tradition, of the posterity of Ham. They were but a branch however, not the whole of the race, a branch that had early separated itself from the parent stem, and became both the most celebrated and the most permanent. In this book we shall speak specially of the Phœnicians, because they alone of their race played an important part in history; but first of all, and by way of introduction, we must say a few words on the Canaanites in general, on their origin and their migrations, up to the time when the Sidonians or Phœnicians separated themselves from the other nations sprung from the same source, and organised themselves into distinct communities.

2. The traditions of the Phœnicians collected at Tyre itself by Herodotus, ever careful and intelligent in the choice of his sources of information, and also accepted by the judicious Trogus Pompeius; those of the inhabitants of Southern Arabia preserved by Strabo; and, finally, those still current in Babylonia during the first centuries of the Christian era, when the Syro-Chaldee original of the book of "Nabathæan Agriculture" was revised—all agree in stating that the Canaanites at first lived near the Cushites, their brethren in race, on the banks of the Erythræan Sea, or Persian Gulf, on that portion of the coast of Bahrein designated El Katif, on our modern maps of Arabia. Pliny speaks of a land of Canaan in this neighbourhood, in his time. Strabo* speaks of the "Islands of Tyre and Aradus," the Bahrein Isles of our days, "containing temples similar to those of the Phœnicians;" and he adds, "if we may believe the inhabitants, the islands and the town of the same name in Phœnicia are their own colonies." It should be mentioned that the name of the island, Tyrus, is given by Pliny and Ptolemy as Tylus, and that the original form of the name of Aradus in Phœnicia seems to have been Arvad. (Comp. Gen. x. 18.)

According to Trogus Pompeius,† the Canaanites were driven from their first settlements by earthquakes, and then journeyed towards Southern Syria. The traditions preserved in "Nabathæan Agriculture" state, on the contrary, that they were violently expelled, in conse-

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* Strabo, xvi. iii. 4. † Justin, xviii. 3.

quence of a quarrel with the Cushite monarchs of Babylon of the dynasty of Nimrod; and this is also the account given by the Arabian historians,* who have recorded very precisely the traditions as to the migration of the Canaanites, whom they term the original Amalekites, descendants of Ham, carefully distinguishing them from the second, the Biblical Amalekites, of Semitic race. This violent expulsion is probable enough, for the migrations of nations are generally produced by analogous causes; but to attribute it to the Cushites of Babylon, of the same race as the Canaanites, appears a statement less worthy of credence. May it not rather have been the result of the invasion of the Japhetic Arians, who threw themselves into Babylonia between 2,500 and 2,400 B.C.? This was a real historical event, and a sufficient cause for this great change amongst the Hamitic populations of the coasts of the Erythræan Sea; a little further on we shall see that, according to various indications, the migration of the Canaanites must have taken place about this time.

3. We have no positive proof as to the route pursued by the Canaanitish tribes, when leaving the borders of the Persian Gulf, in order to reach Syria; we are obliged to make use of geographical inductions, until a more intimate knowledge of the country may at some future time afford us traces of the passage of this nation in search of a new fatherland.

A series of oases dot the route followed by caravans, extending from Katif, by Hassa, along Wadi Aftan as far as Djebel Toweyk. A little farther on, this route turns towards the north-west, in the district of Woshem, in order to reach the town of Aneyzeh. From thence, crossing the whole of the country called Kasym, to rejoin the route of the Hadj, or caravan of Mussulman pilgrims from Damascus to Mecca, its direction is due west, as far as Henikeh. It is hardly possible to doubt that this line of oases, succeeding one another at short distances, was the route followed by the Canaanites; for in any other direction the extent of desert to be traversed would have proved an insurmountable obstacle to their progress.

In the east especially, the roads used by the fathers are invariably followed by the children; and there is still every reason to suppose that from Henikeh, the route taken by the emigrant tribes was that now traversed every year by the caravan of the Hadj on its return from Medina to Damascus.

4. Between Henikeh and Medaïn Saleh, one of those caravanserais, now serving as a halting-place for pilgrims, we find in the best maps, a mountainous district called Thamud; and this was several times men-

* CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL. *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Tom. i. p. 18. Paris, 1847.

tioned by Syrian Arabs to M. Lenormant, as containing numerous and important relics of antiquity. There one of the tribes of the Canaanitish migration remained behind the others, who continued their route towards the coast of the Mediterranean. It is in this region that a tradition, even now believed amongst the Arabs, places the ancient nation of the Thamud, who made their dwellings in caves of the rocks. They were, it is said, an impious nation—the pure Shemites, Arabs as well as Hebrews, invariably applying this term to the Canaanites and Cushites—and they were destroyed by a certain Codar-el-Ahmar.* It is almost impossible to avoid recognising in them the Horites or Troglodytes, of the book of Genesis, whose descent from the Canaanitish race is certain, and who, dwelling in the northern part of Arabia, in the time of Abraham, were "smitten" by Chedorlaomer.

The remnant of them then entered Palestine, and dwelt in Mount Seir, whence they were again expelled by the descendants of Esau. They then sought a refuge among the Hittites of the south, in the mountains belonging in later times to the tribe of Judah, where a considerable number of their rock-hewn dwellings still remain, in the neighbourhood of Beit Djibrin, the Eleutheropolis of the Romans.

5. Having thus left behind them the colony of the Horites, Horim or Thamud, on the route through Arabia, the Canaanites most probably continued to follow the road now used by the Hadj, and at last arrived in Palestine, where they first showed themselves, says Justin,† on the borders of the "Assyrian Lake." Most commentators agree in substituting *Syrian* for *Assyrian* here, and in identifying it either with the Dead Sea or the Lake of Gennesaret. The Canaanitish tribes, tired with their long journey through the desert, remained there some time, until they felt themselves strong enough to undertake the conquest of the country, whence they, in their turn, were to be driven out by the Israelites.

SECTION II.—THE PRIMITIVE POPULATIONS OF PALESTINE.

1. PALESTINE, when entered by the Canaanites, was not a wilderness. The greater part of its towns were already built, and the country round about them inhabited by a numerous population, who were either exterminated, or forced to emigrate by the Canaanites. Some remnants, however, of the primitive races still existed when the Israelites conquered the land. Some of the names given by the Bible to these primitive races of Palestine generally indicate men of large stature, and great strength, and thus popular tradition in after ages has termed them giants. The appellation most generally applied to them is *Rephaim*, which amongst the Phœnicians had the signification of "Manes."

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* CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL. Tom. i. p. 25. † xviii. 3.

2. The Rephaim were divided into several tribes:—

1st. The Rephaim (Gen. xiv. 5) properly so called, inhabiting the country of Bashan, where they possessed sixty strong towns, and had as their capital Asteroth-Karnaim. In the time of Moses their territory was occupied by the Amorites.

2nd. The Emim (Gen. xiv. 5) or "terrible," established in the country occupied in later times by the Moabites, and also in the plain of Kiriathaim.

3rd. The Zamzummim (Deut. ii. 20), who were supplanted by the Ammonites.

4th. The Zuzim (Gen. xiv. 5), dwelling in Ham, a country whose precise position cannot as yet be determined.

5th. The Anakim, of whom the Nephilim were a branch. Of all the primitive populations of Canaan, these had most successfully resisted the conquest of the Canaanites. In the time of Joshua (Jos. xi. 21) there was still a considerable number of them in the country they had once possessed, especially in the mountains subsequently belonging to the kingdom of Judah, and where the Hittites were already established when Abraham came from Mesopotamia into the land promised to his race. The principal town of the Anakim appears to have been Kirjath-Arba (Jos. xv. 13, 54), afterwards called Hebron.

To the various tribes thus united under the common name of Rephaim, we must, in order to complete the table of the nations whom the Canaanites had to destroy or conquer, and who are mentioned in the Bible (for a certain number of tribes doubtless have disappeared without leaving any traces), we must, we repeat, add the Avim, who occupied the plain to the south-west of Palestine as far as Gaza (Deut. ii. 23), [Azzah is written for Gaza in the English authorised version], the Kenites still further southward, in the direction of Arabia Petræa, and lastly the Kenizites, and the Kadmonites, whose situation is unknown.

Did all these nations mentioned by the generic appellation "*Sati*" by the Egyptians of the old empire, and of the 12th dynasty, belong to the Semitic race? Sufficiently plausible reasons may be given for thinking that the most ancient known inhabitants of Palestine were nearly connected with the Aramæans. Be that as it may, they spoke an idiom differing from that of the Canaanites, for the names Zamzummim, and Zuzim, given them by the latter, signify a people whose language is not understood, and is compared to a buzzing sound.

We have explained in our First Book,* how it happened that the Canaanites, although of Hamitic race, used a language of the so-called Semitic family, as did also the Cushites of Babylon and Yemen.

* Vol. i. p. 71.

SECTION 3.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CANAANITES IN PALESTINE. THEIR VARIOUS TRIBES.

1. It may be possible to fix approximately the date when the Canaanites became masters of Palestine, and supplanted the ancient tribes sprung from Shem. Herodotus* gives an apparently correct date when he says that, according to the Phœnicians, the famous temple of Melkarth, in the Island of Tyre, was founded 2,300 years before his time. These figures, however, are but the result of a simple calculation of generations, like most of those furnished by the father of history; and we believe we have good reason for saying that they are exaggerated by two or three centuries.

We now possess a document of undisputed authority, giving the date that we must necessarily assign to the establishment of the Canaanites in Palestine. This document is an hieratic papyrus, now in the Berlin Museum, translated in great part by M. Chabas,† containing the report of an Egyptian officer, sent during the reign of Amenemhe I., of the twelfth dynasty, into the countries of Edom and Tennu, situated to the north, near the basin of the Dead Sea, both countries then being vassal principalities of Egypt, like the kingdom of Gerar, where Abraham and Isaac resided. His mission was to examine into the state of these two countries, and also to report the situation of the neighbouring nations, with whom Egypt and her vassals were often at war. In this report there is no mention of the existence of the Canaanitish tribes in Palestine. The only inhabitants of this country were then the Sati, a remnant of whom we find mentioned during the eighteenth dynasty, as also are the remnants of the Rephaim in the Book of Joshua. Now, the Sati, on all the Egyptian monuments where they are represented, have a perfectly recognisable Semitic character. Other texts, also dated during the old empire and the twelfth dynasty, expressly state that the only neighbours the Egyptians had at this time on the Syrian side, were the nations of the race of the Aamu, that is Semites, whom the sons of Mizraim generically designated by this name, derived from the Semitic word *am*, "people."

2. On the other hand, the Book of Genesis gives us a fixed date, a time at which the Canaanites were already established in the land. This date is that of the arrival of Abram in Palestine, and especially of the expedition of Chedorlaomer, occurring certainly, as we have already seen, during the period of the domination of the Susianian dynasty at Babylon. "The Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land," says the Bible (Gen. xiii. 7), on the occasion of Abram's

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* HER. ii. 43.

† *Les Papyrus Hiératiques de Berlin.* Châlons, 1863.

arrival, and it was with Canaanitish populations that the patriarch was everywhere brought in contact; but the expression "then" seems to clearly point out that though they were in possession of the country, they had not long been so. We also see that Chedorlaomer and his vassal kings destroyed the Canaanitish nations, such as the Horites (Gen. xiv. 6, 8) and the inhabitants of the Dead Sea cities; but though these nations were already settled in the land, they were not in complete possession, as they were in the time of Joshua. The ancient Semitic populations, the Rephaïm, Zuzim, and Emim, remained there too, and constituted a body of tribes sufficiently powerful to oppose a formidable resistance to the Elamite conqueror.

The entry of the Canaanites into Palestine, and their settlement in the entire country situated between the sea and the valley of Jordan, must, therefore, be placed between the period when the twelfth dynasty governed Egypt and that when the Elamite king, Chedorlaomer, reigned as suzerain over all the Tigro-Euphrates basin. This brings us approximately between 2,400 and 2,300 B.C., and, consequently, strengthens our previous surmise, that the change amongst the Hamitic tribes bordering on the Persian Gulf, caused by the invasion of the Arians into Babylonia and Chaldæa, was the cause of the migration of the Canaanites from the shores of the Erythræan Sea to those of the Mediterranean.

3. The 10th chapter of Genesis gives us, under the genealogical form it usually adopts, an invaluable table of the Canaanitish nations established in Palestine, at the time of their greatest development and highest prosperity, before the invasion of the Israelites, perhaps even before the establishment of Egyptian supremacy in Syria, for it seems probable that in the compilation of this chapter, Moses made use of documents anterior to his own time. The Biblical text gives Canaan eleven sons—Sidon, Heth, Jebusi, Amori, Girgasi, Hivi, Arki, Sini, Arvadi, Zemari, and Hamathi, who became the fathers of as many nations—the Sidonians, the Hittites, the Jebusites, the Amorites, the Girgasites, the Hivites, the Arkites, the Sinites, the Arvadites, the Zemarites, and the Hamathites.

The Sidonians formed the first settlement, and always remained at the head of the Phœnician nation, which, at all periods of its history, even when joined by other peoples of the same race, called itself both "Canaanite" and "Sidonian." They inhabited the coast of Palestine from Gebal, or Byblos, on the north, as far as Acco, called Ptolemaïs under the successors of Alexander, to the south. We shall enumerate and give some particulars of their different towns.

The Sidonians early devoted themselves to seafaring pursuits, and found in these the source of their power and prosperity. The Hittites, on the contrary, always remained a nation of landsmen, and was the most numerous and warlike of all the Canaanitish tribes. In very early

times, perhaps even before the period of their settlement in Syria, they were divided into two unequal parts, with widely distant territories. The Southern Hittites, the least numerous, inhabited the country belonging in later times to the tribe of Judah, around Kirjath-Arba, whence they drove out the Anakim, and named the city Hebron. The Northern Hittites were the Khitas of the Egyptian monuments, the Khatti of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, that great warlike people with an essentially despotic and monarchical constitution, who inhabited the chain of the Amanus and the lower valley of the Orontes towards the Euphrates, and whom we have seen playing an important part in the affairs of Assyria, from the time of the accession of the nineteenth dynasty in Egypt to that of the campaigns of the Ninevite king, Asshurnazirpal. These were the Hittites with whom King Solomon allied himself; whilst the Southern Hittites of the neighbourhood of Hebron were submissive to his rule. They were the most northern of all the Canaanitish nations.

The Jebusites had established themselves in Jerusalem and its immediate neighbourhood.

The Amorites, of whom the prophet Amos says (Amos ii. 9), "whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was strong as the oaks," were divided, like the Hittites, into two branches. The southern, the greater part of the nation, were found to the west of the Dead Sea, around Engaddi; a little before the time of Moses they had crossed the Jordan, and founded in Perea the two kingdoms of Bashan and Heshbon, whence they drove out the Moabites and Ammonites. The Egyptian monuments inform us that the Northern Amorites inhabited the valley of the Upper Orontes, south of the Khitas, and that the celebrated fortress of Kadesh belonged to them.

The Gergesenes are mentioned both in the Bible and in hieroglyphic inscriptions. We have already said that we imagine their capital to have been Gerasa, now Djerash, in Perea; but their territory must have included all Decapolis and even Galilee, as none of the other Canaanitish tribes mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis inhabited that country.

The Hivites were also separated into two divisions, northern and southern. The inhabitants of Sichem, Gibeon, and the whole country belonging in later times to the tribe of Ephraim were Hivites. Others of the same tribe dwelt in the chain of the Anti-Libanus, from Baal-Hermon to the neighbourhood of Hamath.

The Arkites inhabited the plain north of Lebanon, between the mountains of Akkar and the river called Eleutherus in the times of the Greeks, and now Nahr-el-Kebir. Their name was long preserved in that of the town of Arca.

The mountain chain of the Lebanon was the country of the Sinites.

Strabo mentions a town of Sinna,* situated amongst these mountains above Botrys. The principal city of the Arvadites was in the Isle of Aradus, or, more correctly, Arvad; but they had spread also to the main land.

The Zemarites dwelt on the sea-coast, between the Arvadites and the Sidonians. Their name was still preserved there in the times of the Romans in that of the city of Simyra.†

It is impossible to doubt that the Hamathites are identical with the Canaanitish tribe that was settled in the town of Hamath, afterwards called Epiphania, on the Orontes, between the Hittites and the Amorites of Kadesh. After the time of David, they were succeeded in that town by the Aramæans, whom probably they had themselves originally driven out.

Some historians add to the tribes we have mentioned a twelfth Canaanitish nation, the Perizzites, who are not mentioned in the genealogical table of the Book of Genesis. These writers, however, are in error. The name "Perizzites," where mentioned in the Bible, is not meant to designate any particular race, but country people, in contradistinction to those dwelling in towns.

4. It would be a great mistake to imagine that these eleven Canaanitish tribes, who thus become masters of Syria, formed so many well-organised nations. This was the case with the Northern Hittites only, and by this means they acquired political and military importance, such as no other portion of their race ever obtained. Among the Sidonians also, both before and after the time when their union with the Arvadites and the Zemarites formed the Phœnician nation, there was a certain national tie and a subordination of the various towns to a metropolis where resided a king, who exercised supremacy over the petty local princes. But the other Canaanitish tribes had no one particular head or common government. Each town had its own king, subordinate to no superior power, except, indeed, at one time to the foreign dominion of the kings of Egypt. No permanent bond existed among these princes. Even common danger but seldom made them even temporary allies. Nearly always at war one with another, they were, in consequence of such disunion, easily conquered. The Hivites formed an exception to the rest of the Canaanites, for their towns, instead of being governed by petty princes with the title of kings, possessed complete municipal liberty and a republican government.

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* STRABO, xvi. ii. 18. † Ibid. xvi. ii. 12.

Section IV.—Phœnicia and its Cities.

1. The Greek name, *Phœnicians*, of unknown origin, must not be applied to the whole of the nations of the race of Canaan who settled in Southern Syria: it belongs to the Canaanites of the sea coast only, who were always widely separated from the others. Phœnicia, in both classical history and geography, is merely that very narrow tract of land, hemmed in by mountains and sea, extending from Aradus on the north to the town of Acco on the south, including the ancient territories of the Arvadites, the Zemarites, and the Sidonians. Before commencing the summary of its history, it may be useful to describe briefly its geography, and to enumerate its principal towns.

2. To begin at the north. There was the Island of Aradus, preserving its ancient name of Arvad, with a slight alteration, a short distance only from the coast, and under the same parallel of latitude as Citium in Cyprus. Of very small extent, it was entirely occupied by the town of the same name, the capital of the Aradians, or Arvadites. It was surrounded by a wall intended to serve at once as a fortification and also as a dyke. This wall still partly remains, and is composed of blocks of stone, each from five to six yards in length. After its union with the Sidonians, Aradus still retained its own king as vassal of the monarch who exercised supremacy over the whole Phœnician nation. To it belonged, on the neighbouring shore, the two towns of Antaradus, now Tartus, where, in the plain, seems to have been situated the Necropolis of the insular town; and Marathus, now Amrit, where are found the most important remains of Phœnician architecture.

Southward, in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the river Eleutherus (Nahr-el-Kebir), was Simyra, now Sumreh, the ancient capital of the Zemarites. This town, although always a royal city, does not appear to have joined the Phœnician confederation; in fact, we gather from its history that it was closely allied with the Aramæan towns of the Orontes valley.

Still more to the south, we find the Orthosia of the Greek and Roman geographers. We learn from the Assyrian monuments that its primitive and national name was Simron. This was one of the principal towns of the Phœnicians, and a royal city, probably the capital of the Arkites; for Arca, in consequence of its position, had soon fallen into secondary importance. Still going southwards, we find the site where, at a not very remote period, the people of Aradus, Sidon, and Tyre founded three neighbouring settlements, their union forming Tripolis; the two secondary towns of Calamus and Gigartus; the sacred promontory, called by the Greeks, Theou-Prosopon, apparently the translation of a Phœnician name, Phaneh Baal, "face of Baal," and lastly Botrys, now Batrun.

3. We next come to the territory of the Sinites. Sinna, their oldest town, and Aphek, the most important sanctuary of Ashteroth, were in the mountain; but their real capital, situated on the coast, was Gebal, called by the Greeks Byblos, and now Jebeïl. It was a royal city, originally situated inland, and subsequently removed to the sea shore. Its name signified "the tomb of the God," and they showed there the burial place of Adonis. Gebal was a sacred city; to it belonged the oldest mythological traditions of the Phœnicians, and there they celebrated the famous mysteries.

Next to it, still going southwards, was *Berytus*, now Beyrout, founded by the Giblites, a royal city, and at all periods of great maritime and commercial importance. Its name signifies "wells, cisterns." Berytus formed the frontier of the ancient nation of the Sidonians, the descendants of, to use the Biblical expression, "the first-born" son of Canaan, and, who at one time were the whole Phœnician nation. Their two most northern towns were Heldua and Porphyrion; the Phœnician equivalents of these names are unknown to us.

Sidon, now called Saïda, is reduced to a miserable condition; its vast necropolis is the only vestige of its past splendour. The name of Sidon, "the fishery," indicates the first occupation of its inhabitants, the fishing expeditions that the Sidonians, but just settled on the sea-coast, undertook, and by which they learned the art of navigation. It was the most ancient of all the Phœnician cities, and termed "the mother" of all the others, with the exception of Gebal, a city that perhaps did not originally belong to the Sidonians, properly so-called, but to the Sinites. Sidon, like Tyre, was divided into two parts—"Great Sidon," on the sea, and "Little Sidon," at some distance inland.

To the south of Sidon was Sarepta (now Surafend), a town apparently rich, and of considerable importanee, especially in earlier times; but from the twelfth century B.C., it became subordinate to Tyre. The latter city, bearing in the Canaanitish language the name still given to it by the Arabs, Tsur, or Sur, "the rock," exercised during a great part of Phœnician history, the supremacy orignally belonging to Sidon. Classical geographers mention two towns of Tyre—one on a small rocky island close to the coast, the other on the sea shore; the latter, identical with the place now called Ras-el-Aïn, was specially called Palætyrus, or "Old Tyre." We shall have occasion to enlarge on the various vicissitudes in the history of these two divisions of the Tyrian city. Between Sarepta and Tyre were the secondary towns of Nazana, afterwards Cæsarea, Avatha, the Ornithopolis of the Greeks, and Mahallib, or Leontopolis. The whole of this coast resembled one vast, continuous city.

4. The southern boundary of the territory of the Sidonians, at the period of the genealogical table of the tenth chapter of Genesis, must

have been in the neighbourhood of Tyre. In later times, their possessions extended still farther south. When the Israelitish conquest exterminated the Canaanitish nations of Palestine, and, at the same time, the Philistines established themselves on all the southern coast of this country, the maritime cities of Galilee resisted this double invasion, and still maintained their Canaanitish nationality. The Gergesenes, from whom, in all probability, they were originally descended, had ceased to exist. Not able to stand alone, they naturally allied themselves with the Sidonians, who were powerful enough to protect them, and thus became a part of the confederation of the Phœnician towns.

The Phœnician cities, to the south of Tyre, were Sérâa, the Sarra of some classical geographers, apparently always a dependency of the town of Melkarth, near which it was situated. Ous, called by the Greeks Alexandroschene; its more ancient name has been learned from the cuneiform inscriptions; Laodicea, so called in the days of the Seleucidæ, and whose considerable ruins are now named by the Arabs Oum-el-Awamid, and, as some Egyptian texts tells us, originally called Caïcna; Misrephoth-Maim, never a place of importance; Achzib, the Ecdippa of Greek and Latin geographers, still preserving its ancient name, though now but a village. Lastly, the most southern and most important was Acco, named Ptolemaïs by the Greeks, but which has now again resumed its ancient national appellation under the form of Acre.

CHAPTER II.

SIDONIAN PERIOD.

SECTION I.—THE CANAANITES IN EGYPT—FIRST EFFORTS OF THE SIDONIANS IN NAVIGATION.

1. THE migration that brought the Canaanitish tribes from the shores of the Persian Gulf into Southern Syria did not terminate there. Passing beyond the southern limits of Palestine, a portion of the Canaanites, doubtless also carrying with them some of the Semitic tribes, displaced by the changes in the population of Syria, entered Egypt, a country whose riches and marvellous fertility always excited the cupidity of Asiatic conquerors. The Arab traditions state that the first Amalekites, descendants of Ham, whose identity with the Canaanites we have already proved, after having conquered Palestine, invaded Egypt,* and

* CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, *Histoire des Arabs*, Tom. i. p. 19.

made themselves completely masters of the country; that they founded in the Delta a city called Awar, and made it their capital; that finally, after having governed for many centuries, they were expelled by the native inhabitants, aided by the populations of the Upper Nile.

This traditional account, without doubt, relates to the history of the Shepherd invasion, the establishment of their kings at Avaris, and their final expulsion by Ahmes. We have already given a full account of this event, marking, as it does, one of the principal incidents in the history of Egypt, and to this account we refer the reader. Manetho, quoting from the temple records, expressly says that the Shepherds were Phœnicians or Canaanites; and we have seen that this fact is proved in the most decisive manner; as also that the Hittites assumed the direction of the movement, and that they became the kings of the Shepherd dynasty, when the original plundering expedition became a permanent settlement, and when the conquerors, influenced by the superior civilisation of the conquered, adopted Egyptian manners, and their chiefs assumed the position of true Pharaohs.

2. The commencement of the first of the Shepherd dynasties on the banks of the Nile must have been almost immediately consequent on the establishment of the Canaanites in Syria. These dynasties lasted five centuries. Under the king Apepi, towards the end of their rule, Joseph became minister. We must, therefore, conclude that the Pharaoh, during whose reign Abraham visited Egypt, was one of the Shepherds, as is stated by the traditions of the Talmud, and of the Arabs; and these traditions often have a more solid foundation than we are disposed at first to admit. The accounts in the Book of Genesis inform us that the Canaanites of Palestine were then entirely independent of the princes of their race who ruled at Avaris. The Pharaohs of Hittite origin, who governed Egypt, had no authority in Syria; their dominion was limited to a few provinces immediately bordering on the land of Mizraim, the little kingdom of Gerar, for example.

Thus the Egyptian princes did not intervene as protectors in case of war; and when Chedorlaomer pushed his conquests as far as the Dead Sea, we find that the Egyptian monarch made no attempt to resist him, or to go to the succour of the Horites, or of the people of the Pentapolis.

It appears, however, from some circumstances in the lives of the Patriarchs, that Palestine and Egypt were at this time closely allied, and that there was a brotherly feeling between the Canaanitish tribes of both countries. The adoption of Egyptian civilisation and manners by the Canaanitish Shepherds exercised a great influence on the populations of Palestine; and this was afterwards increased by the conquests of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty. The discoveries of science give us reason to suppose, as Ewald has done, that it was the Shepherd kings of Avaris

who borrowed from the Egyptian hieratic writing a certain number of alphabetical characters, employed them to represent the sounds of their own language, and thus produced the Phœnician alphabet of twenty-two letters, the origin of most of the other alphabets of the world. This invention, which could scarcely have originated from any other country than Egypt, spread with the greatest rapidity amongst the various Canaanitish nations, and, from the testimony of hieroglyphical inscriptions, it is now certain that all these nations were in possession of alphabetical writing at the time when the Egyptians, after expelling the Shepherds from their country, and having in their turn become conquerors under the first of the Amenhoteps and Thothmes, took possession of Syria.

3. Whilst one portion of the Canaanitish tribes conquered Egypt, and the Hittites placed their chiefs on the throne of the Pharaohs, the Sidonians, who never appear to have had any warlike ambition on land, turned their attention towards the sea, on whose shores they had settled. We do not know whether the singular aptitude they displayed for navigation and commerce, and which distinguished them from the rest of their race, had been already manifested in their ancient country on the borders of the Persian Gulf, or whether it first appeared on their arrival on the shores of the Mediterranean. However this may be, it was rapidly developed there. Confined in a narrow territory, barely sufficing to support the population, the Sidonians were compelled by necessity, as well as led by their natural instincts, to seek on the sea a new country, and more specially a new source of wealth.

The greater part of the populations living on the shores of the Mediterranean were still in a state of barbarism, in that primitive condition, now called "*the stone age*," and had not skill to construct, even had they conceived the idea of a vessel fit for any distant voyage; even the inhabitants of countries, in an advanced state of civilisation, such as Egypt, hardly dared to venture on the most limited voyages, though never losing sight of land; and at this time the Sidonians were the first, and for a long time, the only navigators in the world. None before them had dared to attempt long voyages, or boldly venture on the high seas, braving the dangers of the winds and tempests, in order to bring from distant lands metals or precious woods, the first materials necessary for art; and many centuries elapsed before any other people dared to vie with them in this career.

The sea was not only an inexhaustible mine of riches for the Sidonians, and the only field of action open to a bold population, both laborious and intelligent, to whom agriculture could not offer the means of gaining a livelihood, but, moreover, commerce was the only pursuit possible for them to follow. Confined to their narrow coast territory, and prevented by more powerful nations from spreading

inland, first by the Hittites of their own race, in later times by the great empires of the valleys of the Nile and of the Euphrates, the Sidonians could rise neither to political nor to military importance. It was even impossible for them to preserve their independence, or to aspire to any other condition than that of a limited and subordinate autonomy, for at nearly every period of their history we find that they were vassals to a superior power. A people whose country was insufficient to support them, who could lead neither an agricultural nor a military life, nor even attain to complete independence, but who nevertheless possessed both energy and courage for action, could have but one resource—commerce and navigation. Thus it was with the Phœnicians; and as they had neither predecessor nor rival in the path they were thus forced to choose, they were able for many centuries to maintain a complete monopoly and pre-eminence.

4. The exact extent of the commerce engaged in and necessarily required by primitive civilisation is not generally and thoroughly understood. Providence created neither nations nor men to live a solitary life, isolated one from the other. Men are so constituted as to be obliged to join with their fellows, in order to subsist and to defend themselves against the dangers threatening them on all sides. It was a predetermined organisation, in which we see and adore the hand of God, that ordained the origin of primitive civilisation in countries which, though highly favoured in many respects, were still destitute of certain natural products, of some of the materials indispensable for the most elementary and most essential arts. Thus, no sooner did civilisation begin to dawn, than commerce was its necessary consequence. The nations who first began to rise above the level of barbarism could not shut themselves up in all the pride of their civilisation, and isolate themselves from the neighbours whose barbarous state they despised. The necessity of obtaining certain essential articles, constrained them to maintain foreign and sometimes distant relations, to trade with still savage peoples, and by this intercourse gradually to spread amongst them the secrets of their own civilisation.

Three facts of the highest importance, now very generally known, have been established by the late researches into the condition of primitive man. First, the great antiquity of metallurgy among Asiatic civilisations; secondly, the priority of the art of working copper to the use of iron, and this to such an extent, that the *age of bronze* represents a long period in the history of civilisation, antecedent to the *age of iron*. Finally, that no sooner had men learnt to smelt copper and manufacture implements from it, than they recognised its comparative unfitness for this purpose in a pure state, and the necessity of rendering it harder and more durable by alloy; in fact, they almost immediately began to manufacture bronze. In the earliest period to which we can go back in the history

of the two most ancient civilisations of the world, the Egyptian and the Chaldæan, we find that they employed bronze; the use of unalloyed copper had either been so long abandoned, or so far forgotten, that no trace of it is left. Bronze is composed of a mixture of copper and tin.

Now, the Egyptians and Babylonians found copper either in their own or in immediately adjoining countries, but no tin was to be found within a considerable distance. The smallest bronze implement found near Memphis in any of the tombs contemporary with the pyramids, where it has been buried for sixty centuries, thus bears testimony to an ancient and distant commerce, bringing the tin of the Caucasus, of India, or of Spain, to Pharaonic Egypt, then rising into civilisation in the midst of nations still completely barbarous. Without this commerce, the presence of bronze implements in Egypt could not be explained, for tin is found nowhere nearer to Egypt than the places above named.*

5. This is one of the most striking proofs of the extensive commerce that must have been carried on in the days of the earliest civilisations. Others might be instanced, but the tin trade was probably the most ancient carried on by the Phœnicians, and the inducement that first led them to undertake long voyages. In the very early ages, when the old empire flourished in Egypt, it seems certain that there was no maritime commerce. All traffic was carried on by land by means of caravans. The subjects of Menes, Khufu, and Shafra obtained the tin they needed for making bronze from the Caucasus, or from India (more probably from the former), by caravans passing through Asia Minor, then inhabited by barbarians, before any great power had arisen there. But the passage of caravans through wandering populations with robber-like propensities was always precarious and hazardous; and, moreover, at the period when the dynasty of the Shepherd kings reigned in Egypt, this traffic became almost impracticable, in consequence of the development of the first Chaldæan Empire, which was then making itself master of the whole Tigro-Euphrates basin, and becoming a strong, warlike, and ambitious power. The Chaldæans naturally took possession of the trade in tin carried on through its provinces.

The Babylonian monarchs, who were then in possession of Assyria, thus secured a sure hold over the populations of Syria and Egypt, between whom and the Chaldæans existed an ancient jealousy, and aspired to extend their dominion westward, as we gather from the fact recorded by Manetho, that the chief of the regular dynasty of Shepherd kings was apprehensive of danger from the Chaldæans. They could,

* See, on the importance of the commerce in tin in primitive ages, and the course it took, *L'Age du Bronze, ou les Sémites en Occident*, by M. de ROUGEMONT. Paris, 1866.

in point of fact, intercept, whenever they chose, the supplies of materials required for the most essential manufactures of these populations; and used this power in the same way that the United States of America, a few years ago, thought themselves able to do when they threatened to stop the cotton supply of England. Such a position of affairs soon became intolerable to the Canaanites in Syria, as well as to those who then governed Egypt. They were compelled, therefore, to seek for some source of supply that should be beyond the control or interference of their hostile neighbours, and this could be found only by sea.

Under these circumstances, the Sidonians laid the foundation of their commercial power; they profited by the want arising from a new political situation, and sent their ships towards the Black Sea to obtain the precious metals, not only for Egypt and other countries, but also for themselves; for being metallurgists, and specially skilful in working bronze, they perceived the advantage of procuring tin direct, and without paying tax to any other nation. Some centuries afterwards, the formation of a navy by the Pelasgic nations rendered the navigation of the Archipelago both difficult and dangerous for the Sidonians, and the necessity they were under of procuring tin without risking these dangers, induced the Phœnicians to steer for Spain.

The commerce in tin, the importance of which in ancient civilisation we have endeavoured to explain, was so completely both the origin and object of their trade, that in still later times, during the full development of Hellenic civilisation, the Phœnicians remained in possession of the exclusive privilege of furnishing Italy and Greece, as they had formerly done Egypt, with tin. It was this same commerce which again roused their ancient spirit, and when the mines of Spain were exhausted, caused them to explore to the furthest western limits of the ancient world, and passing the columns of Hercules, to seek on the coasts of the British isles, from the Cornish mines, a supply of tin for Greeks and Italians.

SECTION II.—PERIOD OF THE EGYPTIAN DOMINION IN SYRIA—PREPONDERANCE OF SIDON, AND ITS COMMERCE.

1. WE have no historical records of the commencement of the prosperity nor of the early voyages of the Sidonians. No monumental testimony as to the state of Syria and its inhabitants for a period of many centuries has been discovered, and the national traditions of Phœnicia, collected by the writers of classical antiquity, and very imperfectly transmitted to us, are entirely silent on this subject. It is, however, certain that the Sidonians were already a nation of hardy mariners, carrying on a considerable commerce, at a time when the Egyptians, at

last awakening to a national life, expelled the Shepherd kings; and, to revenge themselves on the foreigners who had so long held them in subjection, invaded and conquered the whole of Western Asia.

We have already recorded in our book on the history of the Egyptians, that at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, Amenhotep I. conquered Southern Syria, and Thothmes I. carried his arms beyond the Euphrates. From that time the Sidonians, in common with all the neighbouring populations, were subject to the Egyptians, and remained so during the whole period of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties, from the first half of the seventeenth till the end of the thirteenth century B.C.

2. We do not find the name of the Sidonians, of their capital, nor any of their cities mentioned in any of the lists of rebels and conquered nations, engraven on the walls of the Egyptian temples, giving an account of great insurrections breaking out at various times in Syria against Egyptian supremacy, at the instigation of the Assyrians or Rotennu, or perhaps of the Northern Hittites. The most formidable were quelled by Thothmes III., by Seti I., by Ramses II., and by Ramses III. All the Canaanitish nations, except the Sidonians, seem to have taken part in these insurrections; the Arvadites, or Aradians, the Zemarites, the Gergesenes, whose lands bordered on Phœnicia, and who afterwards belonged to the Phœnician confederation, eagerly entered into all the conspiracies formed against Egypt. The hieroglyphic inscriptions, however, frequently speak of the tributes, the arts and the riches of Phœnicia.

The Pharaohs of this period have left great steles, commemorative of their supremacy, on the rocks of Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beyrut, and at Adlun, near Tyre. A valuable papyrus, now in the British Museum, contains the account of an imaginary journey made into Syria by an Egyptian functionary at the end of the reign of Ramses II., after the conclusion of the final peace with the Hittites.* Although this is, as we have said, only a work of fiction, it gives us an idea of the state of the country at the period when it was written, and on this account is of great historical interest. The hero is supposed to have been in the country of the Hittites, and to have travelled as far as Helbon, the present Aleppo; on his return, before entering Palestine, which he does by way of Hazor, and where he describes the Canaanitish cities, he is supposed to pass through Phœnicia.

The narrative describes him as first stopping at Gebal; he records the religious importance of the city, and the mysteries celebrated there; he then visits Berytus, Sidon, Sarepta, at the ford of Nazana, now the

* CHABAS, *Voyage d'un Egyptien*. Châlons, 1866.—See also the critical pamphlet on this work, published at Paris by Dr. Brugsch.

passage of the Nahr Heïserany, and Avatha, the ruins of which are now called Adlun. He is then supposed to arrive at "Tyre the maritime," and describes it as a little town situated on a rock in the midst of the waves. "They carry water there in boats," says he, "and it is very rich in fish." Close to Tyre, a little further south on the mainland, the Egyptian traveller arrives at Seraa, the Sarra of classical geographers, and his account contains a pun, if we may say so; on the name of Seraa,—in the Phœnician language, "the wasp;" he speaks of the bad lodgings found there, and adds, "the sting is very sharp." After traversing this part of the country, he visits Caicna, now Um-el-Awamid, then Achzib, where he quits the sea-coast, and enters the mountain region to reach Hazor. The traveller has been on Egyptian ground all this time, travelling with as much freedom and security as if he had been in the Nile valley, and even, by virtue of his functions, exercising some authority.

From these statements, it seems to us clearly proved that, from the date of the establishment of Egyptian dominion in Syria, the Sidonians and the Sinites of Gebal had completely separated their interests from those of the other Canaanitish nations, and pursued quite a different line of action. Instead of seeking to recover their independence, they became perfectly submissive to the Pharaonic supremacy, and remained faithful to Egypt, under all circumstances. Doubtless the kings of Egypt, whose people were neither merchants nor seamen, needed and used the services of the Phœnicians, and therefore treated them with more favour than other nations of the same race, and granted them great privileges in order to secure their fidelity. They themselves, with true mercantile spirit, preferred to reap the materia advantages arising from the protection of a great empire, rather than to indulge their pride by an empty assertion of independence, with its contingent disadvantages and dangers from foreign invasion. We have already spoken of the formation and situation of the country, as opposing almost insuperable obstacles to the complete freedom of its people; and accordingly, during the whole course of history, we find that Phœnicia was the vassal of some foreign power. But as this had been the normal condition of the country from a very remote period, the nation accepted its position as a natural and inevitable consequence of their situation. Trade flourished and was profitable, and, contented with this result, the Phœnicians submitted to a state of vassalage with scarcely any opposition, provided always that the foreign suzerain did not interfere with their local self-government, and permitted them to preserve their own laws, and their own traditional worship, manners, and customs.

3. The testimony of all classical historians, whether they obtained their information from the native annals of Phœnicia, or from the early records of the Greeks, agrees in placing the culminating point of the

commercial prosperity of Sidon, its most extended commerce, and longest voyages, precisely during the centuries when, as we have just seen, the Sidonians were under the political supremacy of Egypt. The seat of the principal Sidonian trade was then in the eastern portion of the Mediterranean, in the Archipelago, and the Black Sea, where no rival navy as yet existed.

Citium, in the Island of Cyprus, was founded by the Sidonians between the seventeenth and the fourteenth centuries B.C.; also Itanum, in Crete, and several colonists settled on the coast of Cilicia, who, in later times, being driven into the mountains of the interior, became the founders of the nation of Solymi. None but Phœnician vessels then traversed the Grecian seas, where they were complete masters, and exchanged for the natural products of these countries the manufactures of Asiatic and Egyptian art with the Pelasgic populations, who had not then learned to make them for themselves. The Sidonians merely touched at, or at the utmost had but small depôts on, the coasts of the continents of Greece and Asia Minor, for there the native populations, being both numerous and jealous of their independence, would have opposed the formation of any large establishment, or anything that might have looked like the establishment of a colony. In the islands, however, some large settlements were formed, permanent naval stations for their ships, harbours of refuge, kept entirely in their own possession. In the south of the Ægæan Sea, the principal of these establishments, so necessary to the prosperity and security of the Phœnician maritime commerce, were Rhodes, Thera, and Cythera, where the Sidonians introduced the worship of the goddess Ashtaroth, the original of the Aphrodite of the Greeks.

In the Cyclades we find incontestable traces of their presence at Oliaros or Antiparos, at Ios, and at Syros. They were the first to work, or to cause to be worked by the natives, the rich silver mines of the Islands of Siphaos and Cimolos. Further north, near the coast of Thrace, the existence of productive gold mines had attracted the Sidonians to the Isle of Thasos, of which they made themselves masters, and where they opened those enormous works, whose remains, more than ten centuries later, were sufficiently large to excite the admiration of Herodotus.* Thence their vessels and merchants went to the neighbouring coast, to the havens, afterwards called Datos, Œsymé, and Scapte-Hylé, to procure, by barter, gold from the mines that the natives, at their instigation, had opened in the sides of Mount Pangæum. Thasos was not, however, the extreme limit of the voyages of the Phœnicians at this period.

After having touched at this island and revictualled, their sailors

* HER. vi. 47.

started afresh, towards the north, on still more adventurous expeditions. Crossing the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, where more timid nations imagined that the Symplegades rocks would close and crush a passing ship, they, in their but imperfectly constructed galleys, braved the tempests of the Black Sea, dreaded even by the sailors of our own days. Coasting along the north shore of Asia Minor—a bleak and rugged coast with scarcely any harbours, where the memory of their ancient commerce was still preserved in many localities even in classical times—they collected during their passage the principal productions of the various countries, and finally arrived at Colchis, attracted by treasures symbolised by the tradition of the Golden Fleece. There the Sidonian vessels were laden with the most various and precious metals, the possession of which had been the chief object of their long and dangerous voyage; gold washed by the Colchians from the sands of their rivers, and also brought by caravans from the Ural mountains, from the country of the Arimaspians; tin, indispensable for the manufacture of bronze, and procured by the Iberians and the Albanians from the chain of the Caucasus; lead and silver, found together in other parts of the same region; and lastly, the metals manufactured by the Chalybes in their mountains, and so universally celebrated; bronze of superior quality; refined iron in bars, and, above all, the steel which no other nation had as yet succeeded in making, and that these half savage inventors of metallurgy had produced from time immemorial.

During the same period, the Sidonians also frequented the coasts of Epirus, Southern Italy, and Sicily, but apparently had no settled establishments there, except perhaps in Epirus, where, according to the legend, the hero Cadmus reigned over the Encheleans, the mythic personification in Pelasgic countries of the navigators of the Sidonian period.

4. Although the major part of the commerce of Sidon during this remote age was concentrated in the eastern portion of the Mediterranean, the Grecian Seas, and the Black Sea, it was still more widely extended. Egypt was one of the principal markets of the Phœnicians, and many of their merchants resided in the towns of the Delta, and also at Memphis, where they had a quarter of their own. Beyond the valley of the Nile, the merchant vessels of Sidon and its dependencies, Berytus for example, coasted along the shores of Africa, as far as Zeugitania, where the Sidonians had founded two towns as depôts—Cambe, on the site where Carthage was afterwards built, and Hippo, in the same neighbourhood (the name of the latter town signifies in Phœnician "a place surrounded by walls"). It was not till several centuries afterwards that the Phœnicians visited the sea coast of Numidia and Mauritania, and founded so many settlements there, that along the whole coast there was not a single town whose population was not of Canaanitish race.

5. Such was the development of the commerce, the maritime power, and the colonies of the Phœnicians, during the five centuries of Egyptian supremacy; and this was also the period of the absolute preponderance of Sidon over the maritime towns of the Canaanites. These were all at this time politically dependent on this eldest daughter of Canaan, where resided a king whose authority extended over the whole Sidonian nation, even over the most important and ancient towns, such as Berytus. Gebal alone had its own king, and was in no way dependent upon Sidon; for its colonies and commercial establishments, such as Paphos in the Isle of Cyprus, and Melos in the Archipelago, were completely separate, and were distinct from the Sidonian colonies. It even appears, as the learned Movers has supposed, that they were founded at an earlier date. We have already remarked that apparently Gebal was not originally a town of the Sidonians, but the metropolis of the Sinites, another people of the same race.

The papyrus in the British Museum, to which we have already referred, proves that Tyre already existed in the time of the nineteenth Egyptian dynasty, and consisted of two parts—one on an island, and one on the adjacent shore. But as yet it was only a town of secondary importance, and there seemed no probability of its ever attaining to political supremacy over Sidon. A second island, then separate from the one where the little maritime town was built, already contained the famous temple of the god Melkarth, called by the Greeks the Tyrian Hercules. Herodotus, quoting from the annals of Tyre, tells us that this temple had been built as soon as the Canaanites settled on the coast of the Mediterranean in imitation of a sanctuary on the Island of Tyre or Tylos, in their original country on the borders of the Erythræan Sea. It contained no image, but the god was worshipped there under the form of a supposed emerald, conical in shape, and of enormous size.*

The temple of Melkarth was the subject of many mythological and cosmological traditions of great importance. Venerated by all the Canaanitish populations, it was the common religious centre of the Sidonian nation, and its character, as a national sanctuary, may almost be compared to that of the Temple at Jerusalem with regard to the Israelites in and after the days of Solomon. In later times it became the national sanctuary of the whole Phœnician nation, and to it, year by year, the different cities sent embassies of priests with magnificent presents, and victims for the sacrifices.

6. The existence of a Sidonian monarchy with an authority extending over all the cities of primitive Phœnicia from the seventeenth to the thirteenth century B.C., is not incompatible with the Pharaonic suzerainty over this country during the same period. We have seen that the system

* HER. ii. 44.

of government adopted by Egyptian kings over subject Asiatic countries was to permit the petty native kings still to reign as vassals, and under the supervision of residents chosen from the officers of the Egyptian court. These subject kingdoms paid tribute, and were obliged to furnish military contingents for the army of Pharaoh. The aid furnished by the Sidonians to Thothmes, Seti, and Ramses was, however, decidedly not in the form of soldiers. As in later times to the kings of Assyria and Persia, Phœnicia most probably at this period also gave ships instead of troops to their suzerain.

The Phœnicians during the whole course of their history manifested a natural tendency to submit easily to the supremacy of great empires, on account of the advantages they thus obtained for their commerce, and consequently they were always ready to arm ships of war for the service of the empires, whose suzerainty they accepted, in order to secure protection. By this means they procured considerable subsidies from those rich and powerful monarchies, and, when required, the assistance of troops also, so that they were able to maintain for the protection of their merchant navy, and their various depôts, a military fleet much larger than they could have formed or maintained from their own unaided resources. Under the Assyrian and Persian kings, we find them making maritime conquests for those powers, leaving to others the empty glory and nominal sovereignty, whilst they, in exchange for their services, secured all the commercial advantages. It must also have been so under the Egyptian kings.

The Egyptians, like the Assyrians and Persians, were never a seafaring people; they had even a superstitious horror of the sea, considering it to be impure, and as the domain of Set, the god of evil, the adversary of Osiris. When the Egyptian embarked on board a vessel to go to sea, he not only believed he was venturing on a dangerous element, but that he was also contracting a religious defilement. As their subjects held these superstitious opinions, it is certain that the Pharaohs could not at any period form a native Egyptian navy. If the only fleet that the Assyrians, at the height of their power, possessed on the Mediterranean, was composed of Cilician and Phœnician vessels, if the only ships possessed by the Persians were those manned by Ionian, Phœnician and Cilician sailors, how much more likely is it that the only fleet on the same sea belonging to the kings of Egypt was one equipped and manned by Phœnicians, and more especially by Sidonians.

It was exactly at the time when the Egyptian supremacy was most firmly established in the country of the Canaanites; and when, on the other hand, the commercial power of Sidon had attained its culminating point, that, under Thothmes III., as we have already stated in the book on Egyptian history, there was a considerable war-fleet in the service

of the Pharaoh, causing his authority to be recognised, and levying his tributes in countries far distant from Egypt. According to our ideas on the subject, this must have been a Sidonian fleet, and by these expeditions the pride of their suzerain was gratified, and his renown spread in distant lands.

The countries which hieroglyphic inscriptions inform us that the navy of Thothmes III. visited, to collect tributes from the native populations and to spread the fear of the Egyptian power, are exactly those that the Sidonians were most in the habit of frequenting for commercial purposes, and where they had made their most important settlements; Cyprus, Crete, the Archipelago, the north coast of Africa, perhaps also the southern extremity of Italy, and the coast of the Black Sea. This coincidence would be most remarkable, unless the above hypothesis be admitted.

7. Allowing that the Mediterranean fleet of the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty was composed of Phœnician vessels, we must necessarily come to the same conclusion with respect to their fleet in the Red Sea. The Sidonians must have manned the war-vessels that transported the Egyptian troops, sent either to conquer or to keep in submission the country of Pun, or Southern Arabia, the depôt for all the valuable products of India,—metals, precious stones, costly woods, spices, ivory, as well as the vessels employed in the trade between the ports of this favored country (rich also in its own productions) and those of Egypt. The navigation of the Red Sea is most difficult, and requires skilled seamen; in later times, when the kings of the twenty-sixth dynasty wished again to form a navy there, they were obliged to apply to the Phœnicians for aid.

The Bible statement, that when, in consequence of the alliance between Hiram and Solomon, Tyrian sailors manned the fleet constructed by the Israelitish monarch for the trade between Ophir and his ports of Elath and Eziongeber; the first voyage was entirely successful, and was undertaken without hesitation, proves that the Phœnicians were not then entering for the first time an entirely unknown sea, that they must have possessed documents relating to former navigations of these seas, and that doubtless the Tyrians under Hiram, were but following the path the Sidonians, their predecessors, had marked out some centuries before, in the service of the Egyptians.

SECTION III.—DECLINE OF THE SIDONIAN POWER (15TH—14TH CENTURIES B.C.).—INVASIONS OF THE ISRAELITES AND PHILISTINES—FALL OF SIDON (1209).

1. FROM the study of the historical monuments of Egypt, we have learned the highly important facts, that about the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., under Seti I., or a little before his time, a Pelasgic navy made its appearance in the Mediterranean, and that the Japhetic Lybians invaded Africa by sea, and made their first settlement on the shores of the Lake Triton; the occurrence in Northern Africa of this purely Arian name would be inexplicable, were we not acquainted with these facts.

From that time, for many centuries, the Pelasgi of the Archipelago, Greece, and Italy; the Philistines of Crete, the Sicilians, the Sardinians, the Lybians and Maxyans of Africa, in spite of the distance of sea separating them, united in a close confederation, maintaining a constant intercourse, naturally leading us to suppose an active reciprocal commerce, and the existence of a considerable knowledge of navigation, and explaining the Lybian element, hitherto inexplicable, in the most ancient religious traditions of Greece, the worship of the Athenian Tritonis, and of the Lybian Poseidon. The power of the Lybio-Pelasgic confederation rapidly increased, and was at its height in the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., when the Lybians and Maxyans, after having extended in the direction of Egypt, and even as far as the western part of the Delta, during the reign of Ramses II., invaded, in concert with the Tyrrhenians and Achæans, and nearly conquered, Lower Egypt, even beyond Memphis, in the reign of Merenphtah.

Such a revolution could not have taken place in seas where the vessels of Sidon had till then been the predominant power, unless their maritime and commercial strength had received some severe blow. This marked the beginning of the fall of the great Phœnician city. Henceforth the Sidonians had formidable rivals, who had no doubt profited by their example in the field they had so long been accustomed to consider their own. And not only rivals, but natural enemies, who were not content merely to vie with them, but actively opposed and attempted to drive them from the shores they frequented for the purposes of commerce.

Pirates then began to infest the seas of Greece, and navigation became precarious. The little Sidonian settlements in the Archipelago fell successively under the attacks of the native islanders and of the Pelasgic corsairs. The larger ones, more able to defend themselves against aggression, such as Thera, Melos, and Thasos, alone successfully resisted. Perhaps even then the Sidonians might have maintained their

former position, if, as in the time of Thothmes III., the Pharaoh, their suzerain, had furnished them with money, arms, and men to man a numerous war-fleet bearing his flag. But during the troubles of the eighteenth dynasty the Egyptian monarchy had completely neglected naval affairs, and we have already seen that, though the first kings of the nineteenth dynasty restored to the land of Mizraim all its ancient warlike power by land, they do not seem to have attached importance enough to the fleet to renew it, and to resume the domination of the Mediterranean. The Sidonians were therefore reduced to defend their commerce and settlements with their own resources, which were insufficient to hold their ground before the continually increasing forces of the Lybio-Pelasgic confederation.

2. The commencement of navigation among the populations of Greece, their first attempts at long and dangerous voyages, till then the monopoly of the Sidonian Phœnicians, the rapid success of their efforts; in a word, the important facts we have mentioned, are plainly represented, in the legendary traditions of the Hellenic race, by the fable of the Argonauts. This fable, around which so much poetry has gathered, is composed of two distinct accounts, relative to voyages in diametrically opposed directions, and, as often happens, they have been amalgamated and united in the legend, in defiance of all geography. One of these accounts treats of the relations with Lybia, and in particular of the region round the Lake Triton.

The other, and more important part of the fable, describes the Argonauts as voyaging northwards; passing the Bosphorus, and braving the dangers of the Symplegades, they venture on the Black Sea, and arrive at Colchis, where their chief acquires the "Golden Fleece." Thus the Pelasgi of Greece, in the infancy of their navy, ventured alone in search of the riches of Colchis, of which they had probably heard from the Phœnicians. In this direction they made their first voyages, and they managed to secure for themselves the maritime commerce with this rich country. From the time of the Argonauts we find no further mention of the voyages of the Phœnicians to the Black Sea and Colchis; they had been supplanted by the Greeks, and Thasos was, from this period, the extreme northern limit of their commerce.

3. Soon afterwards another of those great revolutions, the usual cause of the migrations of nations, expelled the agricultural Canaanites from their settlements in Palestine, and completely changed the political condition of that country. This was the invasion of the Israelites, under the command of Joshua. It does not appear to have directly affected the Sidonians, with whom Joshua appears to have avoided a struggle; for the Bible tells us he stopped at their frontier when pursuing the princes who had been leagued with the king of Hazor

(Jos. xi. 8). It must, however, necessarily have affected them seriously. Thirty-one small Canaanitish principalities had been destroyed in Palestine, the greater part of their people put to the sword, or driven in masses to the coast before the invading march of the children of Israel. The territory of the Sidonians, untouched by the invaders, was the sole refuge for the fugitives, and in consequence of the conquest of the Promised Land by the Hebrews, became crowded with masses of population accustomed to agriculture and deprived of their inland country.

The narrow land of Phœnicia was incapable of either supporting or even containing this multitude, and as incapable of re-establishing them in the homes of their forefathers by force of arms. An exactly similar occurrence is recorded a few centuries later in the history of Greece. The Ionians, who had been driven into Attica by the Dorian invasion, were too numerous to live in that small territory. A part of them were obliged to leave Europe, and seek a new country on the coast of Asia Minor, where they founded the magnificent cities of Ionia.

By a constant law of humanity, similar causes invariably produce the same results. What occurred in Attica to the Ionian population, in consequence of the Dorian invasion, resulted also in Phœnicia to the agricultural Canaanitish population from the Israelitish invasion. Necessity forced the refugees from the mainland, who could not get a livelihood in Phœnicia, to attempt a settlement in countries where they might have a chance of obtaining a living by agricultural pursuits. Thus the Sidonians found themselves obliged to found colonies in the true sense of the word, colonies occupying all the soil of the country where they were established, driving out the natives, and cultivating the land themselves, and, in every respect, totally distinct from the mere commercial factories they had formerly been in the habit of founding.

4. The first of these colonies was Thebes, in Bœotia, whose mythical founder in the Greek legend was Cadmus, a hero, whose name, of Semitic origin, signifies "the oriental," and who, in Greece, always personifies the Phœnician navigators of the Sidonian period. The author of this Manual, in a special work, has positively proved the historical character and the date of the colony of Thebes. This settlement, however, was not prosperous. Exposed to the hostility of the numerous and warlike indigenous population, the colonists from the very first met with great difficulties, and in a short time were obliged to renounce their scheme.

This resistance of the natives, more vigorous than any the Phœnicians had met with in their establishment of purely commercial settlements, is symbolised in the mythological account by the struggle of Cadmus

with the serpent, son of Mars. Pausanias,* however, has preserved on this subject a purely historical tradition, unmixed with any religious myths. According to him, Bœotia, at the time of the arrival of Cadmus and the Sidonian colonists, was inhabited by the Aones and Hyantes; the latter attempted to resist the foreign invaders, but were vanquished and expelled from the country. The Aones, taking warning from this, submitted, and united themselves to the Phœnicians. This discord between the natives of the land, caused by the arrival of the Canaanitish colonists, is symbolised in the mythological legend by the combat, after the arrival of Cadmus, of the earth-born warriors. Those who, according to the fable, survived the combat and became the companions of Cadmus, represent the principal Aonian families who submitted to the foreign rule.

Cadmus did not long remain in peaceful possession of his empire; he was soon expelled, and obliged to retire home to the *Encheleans*. The native element regained its supremacy, after having submitted for a time to the authority of the Phœnicians, and received from them the benefits of civilisation; a reaction took place amongst the original inhabitants of the country, and an effort was made to expel the strangers. Pentheus, son of Echeon, who was allied to the family of Cadmus, was placed on the throne, in the room of the Phœnician hero. But in a short time the Asiatic element, under a religious pretext, re-asserted its supremacy; Pentheus was torn to pieces by the Bacchantes in one of those orgies of oriental origin introduced by the Phœnicians into Bœotia.

A prince of Canaanitish origin, Polydorus, who was said to be the son of Cadmus, ascended the throne. In the Greek tradition then follows a series of alternate changes between the descendants of Cadmus and the natives, lasting till the time of Œdipus. The names of these princes, and their order of succession during all this history, is based on no very good authority. But what seems to be plainly proved, is the existence of two rival dynasties, who with varying fortunes disputed the throne of Thebes during a period of about three centuries after the arrival of the Sidonians in that city, the one being native, the other Phœnician.

The misfortunes of Œdipus and his family, his involuntary crimes, and those of his sons, do not belong to the domain of history, but to that poetical mythology, invariably mixed up by the Greeks with the traditions of their primitive annals, so as to render it difficult to distinguish between history and myth. All that can be gathered from this part of the story relative to the Cadmeans, is the profound horror that their foreign race, and their religion, still bearing the impress of bar-

* Lib. ix. chap. v.

barity and of oriental obscenity, inspired in the Greeks, who, nevertheless, learned much from their invaders. Thus in the Hellenic traditions there is always a species of superstitious horror attached to the memory of the kings of the race of Cadmus. They furnish most of the subjects for ancient tragedy. To their names are attached a thousand strange and incredible stories. All the impure and immoral myths of the Phœnician religion became real crimes, imputed to the Cadmeans by popular tradition.

The civil wars succeeding the reign of Œdipus, the appeal made for aid against his successful rival, by one of the princes of the Phœnician dynasty to the chiefs of the Greeks, and the eagerness of these chiefs to respond to this appeal, are historical facts. The expedition commanded by Polynices failed, but the war against Thebes was not merely an occasion for the Greeks to serve the ambition of one of the descendants of Cadmus, but an opportunity for lessening the power of the foreign dynasty. Regarded in this light, it became a national cause, and should be considered as the first act of the long struggle by which Greece sought to free herself from the moral and political supremacy of Asia; the second act of this contest was terminated by the fall of Troy, and the third by the expulsion of the dynasty of Pelops by the Dorians.

Ten years after the defeat of the seven chiefs, we find the Epigoni again appearing under the walls of Thebes, and this time the power of the Cadmeans was finally destroyed. The greater part of the Canaanitish colonists retreated with Laodamas. Thersander, son of Polynices, was, it is true, reseated on the throne, but his tenure of power was precarious. He tried to efface the memory of his foreign extraction by joining the Greek expedition against Troy, but was killed in Mysia, at the commencement of the war. The Thebans then adopted a republican form of government.

5. The second colony founded by the Sidonians to find room for the refugees who had fled to them in consequence of the Hebrew invasion, was more populous and more important than that of Thebes. Its fate also was widely different. This colony was in Africa. The national tradition of the inhabitants of Byzacene and Zeugitana claimed descent from the Canaanites of Southern Palestine, chiefly Gergesenes and Jebusites who were forced by the Israelites to emigrate,* and there are no good reasons for doubting the authenticity of this tradition; indeed modern scholars whose opinions in such matters are authoritative, such

* PROCOP., *Bell. Vandal.* ii. 20; SYNCELL., p. 87. See on this subject the *Talmud of Jerusalem*, Sheb., c. 6. f. 35, and the *Talmud of Babylon*, *Sanhedr.*, c. 11, f. 91.

as Movers and Munk,* are disposed to admit the fact. The Sidonians having already founded the cities of Hippo and Cambe in this region, were naturally led to establish some of their refugees in the same country. Moreover, the colonists there were most favourably circumstanced; they found a population of the same race who had long been in possession of the soil.

The discoveries of Movers have proved, that at the time of the invasion of the Shepherds into Egypt, some pastoral and agricultural Canaanitish tribes continued their migratory movement towards the west, and advanced by land along the coast of Africa beyond Syrtes and Lake Triton, and at last came to a stop in the fertile provinces that belonged afterwards to the territory of Carthage.

These two successive bodies of the Canaanitish agricultural element (entirely distinct from the Phœnicians, who were principally devoted to commerce and navigation), allied themselves with the tribes of Japhetic Lybians from around Lake Triton, who, conjointly with them, occupied the country. Thence sprung the great agricultural and warlike Lyby-Phœnician people, from whom Carthage derived the chief element of her military power, a mixed nation whose characteristic features were perhaps more Lybian than Phœnician, but who adopted the Canaanitish manners and religion, and still used the Phœnician language at the time when Saint Augustine ruled the church at Hippo. This people prospered so well on the fertile soil where they had settled, that besides having sent numerous parties to colonise some provinces in Spain, a part of the coast of Mauritania, and the west coast of Africa, as far as Cape Nun, they possessed more than three hundred flourishing and populous towns in Byzacene and Zeugitana at the time when the struggle commenced between Rome and Carthage. On the river Tusca alone, the boundary between the Lyby-Phœnicians and the Numidians, they had built seventy towns. We shall have occasion again to speak of the Lyby-Phœnicians, in the book on the history of Carthage; it was necessary to point out here the part that the emigrants, Gergesenes and Jebusites, expelled by Joshua from Palestine, played in the formation of this nation.

6. The invasion of the Israelites was closely followed by that of the Philistines, who arrived by sea from Crete. We have already related this event, in the book on the history of Egypt,† according to the statements made in the historical bas-reliefs and inscriptions on the palace of Medinet Abu. It is sufficient to repeat here that the Philistines, of Japhetic race, were one of the nations of the Lybio-Pelasgic confederation. During the reign of Ramses III., they abandoned Crete, and threw themselves into Palestine; they were conquered by Ramses III.,

* *Palestine*, p. 8.

† Vol. i. p. 123.

who destroyed the fleet that brought them; and then, not knowing how to dispose of this entire nation whom he had captured, he was obliged to give them lands, and apportion to them the sea-coast round Gaza, Ashdod, Ascalon, Gath, and Ekron. This happened in the latter part of the fourteenth century B.C.

The Philistines, doubtless reinforced by numerous parties of emigrants from Crete, rapidly increased in numbers for about a century, profiting by the decline of the power of Egypt under the cowardly and effeminate kings of the twentieth dynasty. When the increase of their population enabled them to bring into the field a considerable military force, they also began to form a navy. At the end of a hundred years they had become sufficiently powerful to lay claim to the dominion of all Southern Syria, and to venture to attack simultaneously the Israelites and Sidonians, both of whom they desired to subjugate. Some successful expeditions, and a few signal victories, made them in a little while master of all the land of the Hebrews, and for more than half a century they imposed a heavy yoke on these people. About the time of the commencement of this oppression, perhaps a few years earlier, but in any case about 1209 B.C., a Philistine fleet set out from Ascalon, and suddenly presented itself before Sidon; the city, not being in a state of defence, was taken by storm, and the conquerors razed to the ground this great Phœnician city, the first of the daughters of Canaan.*

This disaster closes the first period of the history of Phœnicia.

CHAPTER III.

TYRIAN EPOCH.

SECTION I.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE SUPREMACY OF TYRE. COLONIES IN SICILY, AERICA, AND SPAIN (1209—1051 B.C.).

1. THE Philistines, satisfied with having destroyed the sovereign of the seas, whose empire they thought must of necessity become the heritage of their own city, Ascalon did not occupy Phœnicia as they had done the land of the Hebrews. The Sidonians therefore had breathing time, and were enabled in a few years to recover from the disaster that had befallen them.

* JUSTIN, xviii. 3.

The fugitives from Sidon gathered at Tyre, around the temple of Melkarth, the religious centre, as we have already said of the nation, and placed themselves under the protection of their god. Tyre till then had been a town of secondary importance, but in consequence of these events, suddenly assumed a new character. Its population was more than doubled, it became the political as well as the religious centre of the country, and succeeded to all the importance and prosperity of Sidon. Many historians of antiquity have considered 1209 B.C. as the date of the true foundation of the city.

The continental town, Palæ-tyrus, profited specially by the ruin of Sidon. This town was in a position to extend its boundaries sufficiently to receive the immense population that fled there for refuge. The island, where the other part of the town was situated, was too small to contain very many inhabitants, and, moreover, it was almost destitute of drinkable water, as was mentioned by the Egyptian traveller who visited it in the time of the nineteenth dynasty. On its northern side, this island and that of Melkarth formed a magnificent natural harbour, capable of affording shelter to a numerous fleet, an advantage not possessed by the city on the mainland. The arsenals, therefore, and all naval establishments were concentrated round this harbour. From that time, and for at least two centuries, Tyre was composed of three parts, separated by water; the town properly so called on the shore, at the place now named Ras-el-Aïn; the maritime town on one island; and the sacerdotal town built round the temple of Melkarth, on a second island, not quite so far from land.

2. The events of the year 1209 B.C. mark the beginning of a new period in Phœnician history, a period of prosperity, lasting till the siege of Tyre by Sargon, king of Assyria, or for five centuries. The Phœnician nation then in reality commenced its existence, for up to this time all had been Sidonian. After having been masters of nearly the whole of Syria, the Canaanites had found themselves, during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., successively assailed on all sides by enemies who deprived them of the greater part of their territory. The Hebrews had conquered Palestine, the Philistines had destroyed Sidon; on the north the Aramæans had retaken Hamath, and either subjugated or destroyed the Canaanitish people who occupied it, thus separating the inhabitants of the region of Lebanon from the Hittites of the Amanus, and of the Lower Orontes.

This train of misfortunes at last enlightened the small remnant of the Canaanites in the north of Palestine. They began to see that to remain in their state of isolation and mutual indifference, was to leave themselves an easy prey to foreign conquest, and that the only way to insure their independence, and even their national existence, was to unite in one body, and secure their mutual interests by strong political ties; thus

was formed the Phœnician nation. The tribes occupying the various parts of the Lebanon, Zemarites, Sinites, Arkites, as well as the Canaanitish towns that had maintained themselves on the coast of Galilee, Acco for example, united with the Sidonians, still very powerful in spite of their recent disasters, to form one people.

All the towns of importance—Simyra, Simrôn, Gebal, Berytus, and Sidon, which quickly arose from its ruins—preserved their ancient forms of self-government. This was a limited monarchy, controlled by general assemblies of the wealthiest and most influential citizens, and by privy councils of priests and magistrates, who possessed great influence. These magistrates were on an equality with the king in all public ceremonies, and he consulted with them respecting the sending of embassies to Tyre, the centre of the nation. The priests also had a large share in the government. We do not know the exact extent of their authority; but if we may judge by the part played by the Phœnician priests of Baal, in Judea, they must have exercised great influence. The institutions of Gebal or Byblos were considered the most perfect type of these governments, partly monarchical, but pre-eminently aristocratic.

The kings of the various cities were all subject to the supremacy of their suzerain, the king of Tyre, the true and only monarch of the nation, who, in consequence, was called "king of the Sidonians."* He it was who decided all business respecting the general interests of Phœnicia, its commerce, and its colonies, concluded foreign treaties, and disposed of the military and naval forces of the confederation. He was assisted by deputies from the other towns, and the annual embassies to the temple of Melkarth henceforth assumed a political characters.

The Arvadites alone remained isolated. Doubtless they were in close alliance with the other Phœnicians, and shared in the profits of their commerce, and in their maritime expeditions; but there are reasons to believe that they were not subject to the authority of the kings of Tyre. Tyre then became the principal port of Phœnicia, the seat of the principal commercial operations, as well as the centre of political life. The entire population, and also that of the other towns, were seamen; but even then there were not sufficient to furnish crews for all their vessels, so large was their fleet. It was necessary therefore to hire sailors elsewhere, principally in the country of Arvad. The army, the greater part of which was employed in protecting the colonies and commercial establishments, was entirely composed of foreign mercenaries. A body of Arvadites formed the guard of Tyre itself. The other

* In the inscriptions relating to this period the "king of the Sidonians," who was king of Tyre, must be carefully distinguished from the "king of Sidon," his vassal, the local prince of the ancient metropolis, now fallen to a secondary rank.

troops, according to the valuable information supplied by the prophet Ezekiel (ch. xxviii.) were principally recruited from the Lyby-Phœnicians and the neighbouring populations on the African coast. They also employed bodies of Lydians from Asia Minor.

3. The result of the events of the close of the thirteenth century B.C., the union of the various Canaanitish cities into one confederation, into one nation, whose head was the king of Tyre, must have taken place during the fifty years following the ruin of Sidon—a period of Phœnician history on which both classical writers and the monuments are entirely silent. Towards the middle of the twelfth century B.C., when we again find the Phœnicians mentioned, the new order of things had already arisen, and Tyre, from that time firmly established in power, recommenced those great expeditions that had been interrupted for a while by the fall of Sidon.

The usual direction, however, of these voyages could no longer be the same as in the days of Sidonian supremacy. All hope of recovering the dominion of the Archipelago and of the Grecian seas was now lost. The rise of the Dardanian power on the coast of Asia, opposite to Thrace, the presence of the navy of the Carians on the south coast of Asia Minor, and about the Sporades, where they had conquered nearly all the islands, and finally the establishment of the dynasty of Pelops in Greece, had attained the object contemplated from the time of the first efforts of the Pelasgic populations, by acquiring the sovereignty of the seas. The fall of Sidon had led to the destruction of nearly the whole of the Phœnician settlements in those countries; there remained only Thera, Melos, Camirus, and Ialysus in the Island of Rhodes, and lastly Thasos, and these were all in a state of decadence. The Homeric poems very faithfully describe the state of things at this period. It is true that there is frequent mention of the Phœnicians, but merely as simple merchants—not as masters of the sea—as being subject to the depredations of the native populations, and, in their turn, suffering from the piratical attacks they themselves had in earlier times made on other nations; whilst the ships of the Taphians are mentioned as ploughing the Archipelago in all directions; sometimes as harmless merchants, at others as pirates, and sweeping off captives from the very gates of Sidon.

4. The Phœnicians could not content themselves with a commerce carried on under such circumstances, which could never again be but of secondary importance to them. To supply their markets and maintain their maritime power they were obliged to seek for other seas, where they could hope to maintain their supremacy, for countries where they could enjoy a monopoly, and where, without fear of rivalry or of danger from pirates, they could procure all that was necessary for art and for commerce. They, therefore, turned westward along the coast of Africa,

where, during the period of Sidonian power, had been founded the commercial towns of Hippo and Cambe, and where were settled the colonists from whom sprung the Lyby-Phœnician nation.

In 1158 B.C., an important settlement was made by the Tyrians on the coast of Zeugitana. This they called Utica.* The Phœnician ships starting on fresh and distant expeditions from the ports of this country, where they could now refit, began to frequent the coasts of Numidia and Mauritania, and extending by degrees, at length discovered Spain, where the town of Gades, now called Cadiz, was founded a few years after Utica.

Strabo† relates that, according to the original annals of the people of Gades, an oracle, soon after the discovery of Spain, commanded the Tyrians to send a colony in the direction of the columns of Hercules. Arrived at Calpe, that is, the Straits of Gibraltar, the navigators thought themselves at the end of the world; they landed at a place where was afterwards built the town of Sex, and after having offered a sacrifice, and finding the auspices unfavourable, returned to Tyre. Some time afterwards colonists were again sent in the same direction, who passed the straits, and landed on a little island situated near Onuba, between Calpe and Gades; but the omens again being unfavourable, they re-embarked and returned to Tyre. The third attempt succeeded. This expedition, more considerable than the two former, passed the straits, and founded two colonies in two neighbouring islands. One received the name of Gades, in Phœnician *Gadir*, signifying a "closed and fortified place;" the other colony we only know by its Greek appellation, Erythia, perhaps a translation of its Phœnician name.

5. The populations of Bætica, with whom the Tyrians, in consequence of the foundation of these colonies, became closely allied, called themselves in their own idiom by a name which the Greek and Latin authors have transcribed as *Turti*, *Turdet-ani*, *Turtyt-ani*, *Turd-uli*. The Phœnicians identified this appellation with the name of Tharsis, familiar to them in their own ancient geographical traditions, and primitively applied to a part of Italy, the country of the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians. When, in the year 640 B.C., Coleus, the Samian, discovered the Tyrian establishments in Bætica, and made them known to the Hellenic populations, who had up to that time heard of them only from some almost fabulous tales, they converted the name, Tarshish, into *Tartessus*. After the foundation of Gades, the new Tarshish, or Spain, quickly became one of the principal markets of Tyrian commerce, and many Tyrian colonies were formed there.‡

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* ARISTOT., *De Mirab. Auscult.* 146. † iii. v. 5.

‡ See MOVER'S "Die Phœnizier in Gades und Turdetanien," in the *Zeitschr. für Philosophie und Kath. Theologie.* 1843. Nos. 2 and 3.

Inside the straits, on the territory of the Bastuli, the principal Tyrian establishments were Malaca (Málaga), signifying "the town of salt," in allusion, probably, to the chief occupation of its inhabitants; Sex (Motril), or "the town burnt by the sun;" and Abdera (Almeria), a name probably derived from a Phœnician root, but at present unknown to us. The name Carteia (Algesiras), also, is probably of Canaanitish origin. According to a mythological tradition, common to all the Tyrian colonies on the coast of Spain, it was said to be founded by Hercules, or Melkarth. Strabo* records that the primitive name of this town was Heraclæa; this would represent the Phœnician Melkartheia, subsequently abbreviated to Carteia.

The Tyrians also founded a great number of other less important towns in the peninsula, whose names, recorded by the ancient geographers, attest their origin. Phœnician colonies are mentioned even still more to the north, opposite the Balearic Isles. We find names of towns, evidently of Phœnician origin, here and there on the eastern side of Tarragonese Spain, as far as the foot of the Pyrenees, but in much smaller number than in Bætica. One century only after the foundation of Gades, the Tyrians reigned undisputed suzerains of the richest and most fertile districts in Bætica, of the whole valley of the Bætis (the Guadalquiver), over the Turditans, the Turdules, and over the whole country of the Bastules. To form agricultural colonies, they transplanted thither a large number of African Lyby-Phœnicians. Their race mixed with the natives to such a degree that, in the time of Strabo,† the majority of the inhabitants of the towns of Turdetania were, according to that celebrated geographer, of Canaanitish origin. Even under the Roman dominion, the people on the coast around Malaca and Abdera were still called Bastulo-Phœnicians or Lyby-Phœnicians; and we learn from medals that the use of the Phœnician language was common in the towns of Gades, Malaca, Sex, and Abdera at the same period.

The productions sought by the Tyrians in Bætica were metals—gold and silver, iron, lead, copper, tin, and cinnabar, as well as honey, wax, and pitch. "Tarshish," says the prophet Ezekiel (xxvii. 12), addressing Tyre, "Tarshish was thy merchant, by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs."

6. As commerce with Africa and Spain had become the principal object of the voyages of the Tyrians, it was necessary for them to find some place of call for their vessels between Phœnicia and these distant lands. For this purpose they fixed on the island of Malta, where admirable harbours and an exceptionally advantageous situation combined

* iii. i. 7. † iii. ii. 13.

to make it then, as now, the key of the Mediterranean. Towards the end of the twelfth century, the Tyrians occupied Malta and the neighbouring island of Gaulos (now Gozo), afterwards possessed by the Carthaginians, and where are found the only Phœnician temples, the ruins of which have been preserved till our days. These two islands appear to have been originally inhabited by the Lybians, who before long merged into the race of the new colonists.

The Sicilians, who appear to have belonged to the same race as the Iberians and Ligurians of Spain, of Southern Gaul, and of Italy, had, in the fifteenth century B.C., formed part of the great Lybio-Pelasgic confederation, and shared in its maritime enterprises. In later times, causes, unknown to us, broke up the alliance of the populations of Lybia and Sicily with the Greeks. The Lybians and Sicilians then renounced maritime enterprises, and became each a nation of landsmen. The Tyrians profited by this state of affairs to take possession of the commerce of Sicily, and soon their factories occupied the entire coast of this rich island, where no other nation came to rival them, for it was not till three centuries later that the Greeks appeared there. An establishment destined to serve as a place of call, as a harbour of refuge between Sicily and Africa, was formed in the little island of Cossura, now called Pantalaria.

The Tyrian vessels leaving Cambe, Hippo, or Utica, bound for the Spanish coast, passed Sardinia on their route, an island whose inhabitants, more than two centuries before, had also belonged to the Lybio-Pelasgic confederation, as we learn from the Egyptian monuments. A settlement for re-fitting and re-victualling of ships in this island was absolutely necessary, and one was accordingly formed on the magnificent harbour of Cagliari, opening on to the direct route to Spain. The Tyrians also established factories on the coast of Sardinia, then much more healthy than it is now, and inhabited by a numerous population, who possessed vast flocks, and exported a large quantity of wool; there were also magnificent mines of copper and argentiferous lead. They founded there Caralis, now Cagliari, and Nora, on the western coast, looking towards Spain. This latter settlement bore the name of an ancient Canaanitish city in the territory of Ephraim.* A Phœnician inscription has been found there, dating from the time of the Tyrian dominion; in it the native god, *Sardus Pater* (in Phœnician, *Ab Sardon*), is invoked.

These were the colonies, occupying all the most important points of the western coasts of the Mediterranean, founded by Tyre in the course

* Called in the English Authorised Version, *Naarath*, Jos. xvi. 7; *Naaran*, 1 Chron. vii. 28. See GES. *The.*, p. 894, and *Monumenta Phœn.*, p. 154.

of the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C., and in this way she attained to a maritime and commercial power, fully equal to that formerly possessed by Sidon. The greater part of these settlements had been founded, and the power of the parent city was at its highest degree of splendour, when its kings entered into a close alliance with those of Israel, as we shall proceed to relate in the next section.

SECTION II.—ALLIANCE OF TYRE WITH THE ISRAELITES—HIRAM AND SOLOMON—FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE ASSYRIANS IN PHŒNICIA—FOUNDATION OF CARTHAGE (1051—872).

1. The successes of the Philistines, and the attempts they made to attain to the supremacy over all Syria, changed the respective positions and the reciprocal relations of the Israelites and Phœnicians. In the earlier times of their conquest the Hebrews had been enemies to the Sidonians, as well as to all the other tribes of Canaanitish race; and, doubtless, Sidon took part in the coalitions formed in the north of Palestine at different times by the kings of Hazor against the invaders of the ancient land of Canaan. But when the Israelites and Phœnicians found themselves mutually attacked, conquered, and menaced with perpetual servitude by the Philistines—when, also, the Aramæans of the north, about the same time increasing in power, took Hamath from the Canaanites, and the northern portion of Perea from the children of Israel—the necessity of making head against a common enemy brought about an alliance between the hitherto hostile nations; nor was this the only reason for the cessation of the enmity that for nearly three centuries divided the Israelites and Canaanites, and for the substitution of friendly relations in its place.

At this period of history, by an unexampled coincidence, the enfeebled state of the two great empires of the valley of the Euphrates and of the valley of the Nile permitted, nay even called for, the development of a preponderant, independent and native power in Syria, then free from foreign supremacy, and seemed to hold out to this power hopes of the most brilliant prosperity. This, however, could only be brought about by the alliance of the maritime state of Tyre with the inland Hebrew kingdom, and the success of the attempt depended on the renunciation of all jealousy on the part of the Tyrians against the people who had dispossessed the agricultural Canaanites, and the formation of a close and intimate alliance.

No sooner were the Israelites completely freed from the Philistine yoke, and order and union once more re-established among them, after the disasters of the latter years of the reign of Saul, and a strong

government established, than, in the very year when David took Jerusalem from the Jebusites, and made it his capital, in 1051 B.C., Hiram, king of Tyre, sent to him ambassadors who concluded a treaty of friendship between the two princes (2 Sam. v. 11).* David, wishing to build a palace in the new seat of his government, setting the example afterwards followed by his son Solomon, asked Hiram to send him an architect to superintend the building, and skilled workmen to instruct his subjects, and at the same time he solicited permission to cut timber for the beams of the palace in the famous forest of Lebanon; and the king of Tyre readily complied with all his wishes. The disorders of the period of the Suffetes, and the long oppression of the Philistines, had prevented the progress of art among the Israelites, who were, at this time, incapable of executing such works, as, even at the time of the Exodus, they had been competent to perform for the Tabernacle.

2. The period of nearly two centuries, extending from this first alliance of the Tyrians with the Hebrews, to the time of the foundation of Carthage, is the only one during which we have any authentic account of the internal history of Tyre, and this we learn from a fragment of the original annals of this city, translated by the Greek historian, Menander, and quoted by Josephus.†

Abibaal succeeded Hiram I. Nothing is known of his reign, contemporary with the greater part of that of David, except that he maintained friendly relations with Israel. It must have been satisfactory to the Tyrians to see David complete the overthrow of the Philistine power, and also by taking possession of Damascus and Hamath, and extending his dominions to the Euphrates, subjugate the Aramæans. Hiram II., son of Abibaal, succeeded to the throne in 1028 B.C. The Tyrian annals mention the taking of Troy by the Greeks as happening at the beginning of his reign, in 1023 B.C.; and we have already in another work attempted to prove, according to the opinion of Volney, that this date, exactly agreeing with that deduced by Ctesias from the Assyrian records, is much more likely to be exact than the calculations by generations, each differing from the others, by which the greater part of Greek historians have attempted to fix the date of this event, so important in the history of their country.

Hiram is mentioned in these same annals as having quelled in person a revolt of the town of Citium, in Cyprus, where the natives had attempted to free themselves from the authority of the metropolis. He undertook great works in Tyre in the beginning of his reign, and entirely altered the appearance of the city.‡ He rebuilt, with unexampled splendour, the great temple of Melkarth, founded a thousand years

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* Jos. *Ant.* VII. ii. 2. † *Contr. Apion*, i. 18.

‡ Dius *ap.* Joseph. *Contr. Apion*, i. 17.

before, and also the adjacent temple of the goddess Ashtaroth. The little arm of the sea separating the sacred isle of Melkarth from the island containing the maritime town, was filled up, so as to form but one island, and its extent was more than doubled by the formation towards the south of an artificial embankment; and on this was built a new quarter of the city, called in the times of the Greeks, Eurychoron.

Insular Tyre, thus transformed, was protected on all sides by dykes, and surrounded by a strongly fortified enclosure. Quays bordered the whole of the ancient harbour, and a second port was formed on the south side of the island, and in this way shelter was obtained for more than double the number of ships than could previously be accommodated. A royal palace was also built in the insular town by Hiram. This now became the true Tyre, a city of great importance, whilst the old town on the main land, Palætyrus, gradually decreased.

3. Hiram was occupied in these great works when David died, and Solomon succeeded him on the throne of Israel, 1021 B.C. The king of Tyre hastened to send an embassy to Jerusalem to congratulate the son of his ally on his accession (1 Kings v. 2—6); and Solomon, to whom David had bequeathed the duty of constructing the temple of Jehovah, asked Hiram to lend his assistance to the work. Authentic copies of the letters exchanged on this subject between the two kings were said still to be preserved in the archives of Tyre in the time of Josephus, who gives a translation of them.* Hiram, however, busied with his own work, could not immediately furnish Solomon with what he required, and the building of the temple at Jerusalem was not commenced till 1017. We have referred to this building in our book on the history of the Israelites.†

It is sufficient to record here that Hiram sent into Judæa an architect, overseers of works, founders, carpenters, and stone cutters, from Gebal, these being the best in Phœnicia; that he allowed all the cedar wood required, not only for the temple, but also for Solomon's new palace, to be cut in Lebanon; and that he also supplied all the metals required, in such abundance, for the ornamentation, and the furniture of these two edifices.

Solomon wished at first to give Hiram twenty cities and towns of Galilee (1 Kings ix. 11), bordering on the Tyrian territory, in return for this assistance; but the Phœnician monarch, with true political wisdom, did not wish to increase his territory in a way so likely to lead to future jealousies between the two kingdoms. He, therefore, declined Solomon's offer, and preferred securing for a certain number of years the victualling of his capital, and of his fleet, by stipulating that, whilst the

* *Antiq.* VIII. ii. 6 and 7. † Vol. i., p. 142.

work of construction lasted, Solomon should supply him every year with a certain quantity of wheat, wine, and oil, the agricultural products of his kingdom (1 Kings v. 11).

4. To render his alliance with the court of Tyre still more intimate, Solomon married a daughter of Hiram; he also received into the number of his wives a daughter of the Pharaoh then reigning at Tanis (1 Kings xi. 1), and a daughter of the king of the northern Hittites. These two Canaanitish princesses introduced at Jerusalem the worship of Baal and Ashtaroth (1 Kings xi. 5).

Hiram and Solomon undertook, soon after the completion of the temple, to send a navy to Ophir, sharing the expenses between them (1 Kings ix. 26, 27; 1 Kings x. 22). This, as well as the construction of the temple, we have already spoken of.* The precious merchandises of India, had long been one of the principal objects of the commerce of the Phœnicians, and they had arranged to make the central depôt in their own land, and thence distribute their imports by land, to Egypt and the countries of the Euphrates, and by sea to all the shores of the Mediterranean. A great number of Phœnician merchants were settled in Southern Arabia, where the large Indian vessels, profiting by the monsoon, brought their wares either to Yemen, or to the ancient country of the Canaanites on the borders of the Erythræan sea. From thence to Phœnicia the merchandise was generally conveyed in caravans across the deserts of Central Arabia. The vessels manned by Sidonian sailors, which, in the time of the 18th and 19th Egyptian dynasties, carried merchandise on the Red Sea, did not proceed beyond the country of Pun, or Yemen.

The enterprise of Hiram and Solomon gave rise to the first direct voyages from the ports at the head of the Arabian Gulf, to the coasts of India. The success was complete, but no voyages were made after the death of the son of David. The vessels employed on this service are called in the Bible "ships of Tarshish" (2 Chron. ix. 21), and therefore were built on the model designed by the Phœnicians for their distant voyages to Spain.

5. Hiram died long before Solomon, in 994. His son, Baaleazar, who succeeded him, reigned but seven years, and his son, Abdastoreth, at the end of nine years, fell a victim to a conspiracy formed by the four sons of his nurse, in 978, the year in which occurred the separation of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. It is probable that Shishak, king of Egypt, who was at this time preparing for an expedition into Palestine (1 Kings xiv. 25, 26), and who had assisted to bring about the revolution in the country of the Hebrews, had also a share in putting an end to the dynasty of Hiram at Tyre.

* Vol. i. p. 142, *seq.*

The assassination of Abdastoreth was followed by fifty-one years of troubles and revolutions; various competitors disputed the throne of Tyre in rapid succession one after the other. This period corresponds to that of the disorders in the kingdom of Israel, when the houses of Jeroboam and Baasha were successively destroyed; a coincidence proving how great must have been the resemblance between the political situation of the two states. The extracts from Menander, preserved by Josephus,* state that amongst those who rose to power in this interval, were Deleastartus, Astartus, Aserymus, and Pheles. Finally, four years after Omri, by establishing a new royal house, had founded a strong and stable power in Israel, in 937 B.C., a priest of the goddess Ashtaroth, named Ethbaal, also re-established order in Tyre, by taking possession of the crown, and became the founder of a new dynasty.

6. Ethbaal married his daughter, Jezebel, to Ahab, the son of Omri, who ascended the throne of Israel in 919 B.C. We have already seen the boundless influence for evil exercised by the Tyrian princess over her weak-minded husband. By elevating the position of the priests of Baal, and investing them with both religious and political power, first in the kingdom of Israel, and, after the death of the pious Jehoshaphat, also in the kingdom of Judah, she secured to the Phœnician monarchy an influence, almost amounting to suzerainty, over the two Hebrew states, which lasted in Israel till the death of Joram, in 886, and, in Judah, till the accession of Joash, 879 B.C. For a time, at least, in the person of Athaliah, the house of the Tyrian Ethbaal supplanted the sons of David at Jerusalem.

During the reign of Ethbaal, about the time that he gave his daughter in marriage to Ahab, a new actor appeared on the scene of Phœnician history, the Assyrian monarchy, whose military power was destined, two centuries later, to subjugate the greater part of Phœnicia. The first appearance of the Assyrian armies in the Phœnician territory was a mere predatory excursion, and Ethbaal had no difficulty in getting rid of them by promising, and only once paying, a tribute. The Ninevite conqueror, Asshurnazirpal, says, in the inscription on the Nimrud obelisk now in the British Museum, giving the history of his exploits during the year 816 B.C.—"At this time I took possession of all around Mount Lebanon. I proceeded towards the great sea of Phœnicia. On the summits of the mountains I sung the praises of the great gods, and I offered sacrifices. I received tribute from the kings of the countries around the mountains, from Tyre, Sidon, Gebal . . . . from Phœnicia, and from Aradus in the sea; these tributes consisted of silver, gold, tin, bronze, instruments of iron, stuffs dyed purple and saffron, sandal-wood, ebony, seal-skins. They humbled themselves before me."

* *Contra Apion*, i. 18.

Before this, between 1120 and 1100 B.C., Tiglath-Pileser I. had already advanced his armies as far as Lebanon and Aradus. He had himself embarked on board a vessel belonging to this town, and had killed a dolphin with his own hand.* But this first attempt of the Assyrians to establish their supremacy over Phœnicia produced no lasting result.

7. Ethbaal died in 894 B.C., and left the crown to his son, Baale-azar II., who reigned only six years, and was succeeded by his son, Mathan, whose reign began in 888 and ended in 879 B.C. Under this prince, in the winter of 884—883, the Assyrians, who were beginning frequently to direct their attacks towards Syria, and were at the time engaged in wars with the kings of Damascus, as well as with the Hittites on the borders of the Orontes, again made their appearance on the frontiers of Phœnicia. This attack terminated like the one made in the time of Ethbaal. Shalmaneser V. says, in an inscription on the Nimrud obelisk, "In my twenty-first campaign I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time. I marched towards the towns of Hazael of Damascus. I received tributes from Tyre, Sidon, and Gebal."

Under the reign of Mathan, or during the first years of that of his successor, the Phœnicians lost their settlements of Melos and Thera, and also their towns of Camirus and Ialysus, in the island of Rhodes. This date is the necessary consequence of the one we have admitted for the taking of Troy. We know, as a positive fact, that the last possessions of the Phœnicians in the Sporades were taken from them by the Dorians, about sixty years after they made their appearance in the Peloponnesus; and the great event known in Grecian history under the name of the Return of the Heraclides took place eighty years after the fall of the city of Priam. We have no details of the conquest of Melos and Thera; but the historians of the island of Rhodes record that at the time of the arrival of the Dorians, Ialysus and Camirus were governed by a prince named Phalia, and did not surrender till after a protracted siege.†

8. The commencement of the reign of the fourth prince of the dynasty founded by Ethbaal was marked by the great political revolution at Tyre, that led to the foundation of the great African city which was destined to become the rival of Rome. Mathan died leaving two children, a son, aged eleven years, named Pumeliun, celebrated in poetical tradition under the name of Pygmalion, and a daughter, some years older, named Elissar,‡ the Elissa of classical authors; his last wish was that the two should reign conjointly. But the populace,

* Vol. i. p. 375. † ATHENÆUS viii. 61.

‡ This original form of the name, changed into Elissa, is found in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, under the word Dido.

desirous of changing the existing purely aristocratic form of government, revolted, proclaimed Piimeliun sole monarch, and surrounded him by councillors of the democratic party.* Elissar, excluded from the throne, married Zicharbaal,† the Sicheus of Virgil, the Acerbas, or Acerbal of other traditions, high-priest of Melkarth, a personage ranking next after the king, whose position placed him at the head of the aristocratic party.

Some years later Piimeliun, brought up in the interests of the popular party, caused Zicharbaal, in whom he saw a rival, to be assassinated.‡ Elissar, burning to revenge her husband, headed a conspiracy, with the object of dethroning her brother and re-establishing the ancient power of the aristocracy. The 300 members of the senate, the heads of the patrician families, conspired with her; but the democracy was so vigilant as to leave the conspirators no hope of success in Tyre itself. They then resolved to expatriate themselves, rather than remain submissive to Piimeliun and the popular party.§ Seizing by surprise some ships in the port ready for sea, they embarked to the number of several thousand, and departed to found a new Tyre beneath other skies, under the guidance of Elissar, who, from this emigration, received the surname of Dido, "the fugitive."‖ This occurred in 872, the seventh year of the reign of Piimeliun. The Tyrian emigrants directed their course towards Africa, where the settlements of their countrymen had been constantly increasing in number, and where they were sure of finding friends ready to welcome them. They disembarked in Zeugitana, on the site where, six centuries before, the Sidonians had founded Cambe, a city now fallen into ruin, and, perhaps, entirely abandoned, in consequence of the increase and prosperity of Utica, in its immediate vicinity.

The Lyby-Phœnicians, inhabitants of the country, were then tributary to Japon,¶ a king of the native Lybians. Elissar bought of him a territory for her colony of fugitives, and built there a town named Kiryath-Hadéschath (doubtless pronounced by the Phœnicians Kereth-Hadesheth, "the new town." This name the Greeks transformed into Carchedon, and the Romans into Carthago. Elissar, so celebrated under the name of Dido, became later, in poetic and popular legends, almost a mythical personage; and the true history of the foundation of

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* JUSTIN, xviii. iv. 3.

† The real form of this name is given by SERVIUS *ad Virgil.* Æneid. i. 343.

‡ CYNTH. *Cenet. ad. Virgil.* Æneid. i. 12.

§ JUSTIN, xviii. 4. AUGUSTIN, *Enarratio in Psalm* xlvii. [Author. Ver. xlviii.] Ed. Caillau. Paris, 1842, vol. viii. p. 354.

‖ TIMÆUS, fr. 23 (Müller's Frag.). See MOVER'S *Phœnizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. p. 363.

¶ SOLINUS POLYHISTOR, xxviii.

Carthage was surrounded and almost completely obscured by fabulous accessories. But the story, as we have related it, seems really historical, and is recorded by the elder Cato, by Trogus Pompeius, and by Saint Augustine who derived his information from the national annals of Carthage.

SECTION III.—LAST DAYS OF THE SUPREMACY OF TYRE—SIEGE OF THE CITY BY SARGON (872—715).

1. PIIMELIUN reigned for forty years after the flight of his sister with her fellow-conspirators; he did not die till 832 B.C. The emigration of the heads of the aristocratic party reduced the ancient institutions that had once limited the power of the kings of Tyre to mere empty forms, and Piimeliun, whilst supported by the democracy, exercised absolute and uncontrolled authority, as in many other cases recorded in history; for to reconcile liberty with democracy is one of the most difficult problems in the art of government.

The king who founded the absolute monarchy of Tyre was not, however, fortunate in his foreign relations. He found himself obliged to recognise the suzerainty of the Assyrians, whose preponderance in Syria increased every year. The Ninevite king, Binlikhish III., who reigned from 857 to 828 B.C., enumerates, among the countries paying him regular tributes, "the whole of Phœnicia, the lands of Tyre and of Sidon."

As the fragment of Menander, preserved by Josephus, ends with Piimeliun, we are ignorant of the names of his successors; but in the interval between the end of his reign and the siege of Tyre by Sargon, which terminated the supremacy of this city over the other Phœnician cities, we must place two kings of the name of Bodastoreth, known only from a Phœnician inscription discovered at Sidon. In this text, translated by the Count de Vogüé, Bodastoreth, "king of the Sidonians," *i.e.*, of Tyre, son of the king, Bodastoreth, is represented as granting investiture to the local king of Sidon, Ar——, son of Khalilastoreth.

2. The necessity for submitting to the suzerainty of Assyria had in no way injured the maritime power of the Phœnicians. They profited by the weakness of Greece, consequent on the crisis of the Dorian invasion and of the Ionian migration into Asia Minor, previous to the period when her colonies increased, and her navy acquired a reputation unknown in former times. Allied with the Pelasgic Tyrrhenians of Central Italy, who alone could have rivalled them, and who profited by the same state of affairs, they re-possessed themselves of the trade between Greece and the East, and for more than half a century became the principal agents of this traffic, and thus regained for the profit of

Tyre the monopoly formerly enjoyed by Sidon in the same waters. The Greek historians record a Thalassocracy, or domination of the Phœnicians over the Archipelago, from 824 to 786 B.C.

3. The misfortunes of Asshurlikhish, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, and the fall of Nineveh, 789 B.C., interrupted for some years the Assyrian supremacy in Phœnicia. It does not appear that the Chaldæan, Pul, turned his arms against this country when he forced Menahem, king of Israel, to acknowledge himself his vassal (2 Kings xv. 19). Tiglath-Pileser II., the restorer of the power of Assyria, who ascended the throne in 744 B.C., several times imposed tribute on Phœnicia, and visited its towns. We have already related, in the Book on Assyria, the history of the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser in Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine.*

The name of the king of Tyre is not mentioned in the list of kings given by Tiglath-Pileser, and we do not know whether Hiram was then on the throne, or whether he had been succeeded by his son, Muthon. But in the following year we have evidence that Muthon was reigning, and that he made an alliance with Pekah, king of Israel, and refused tribute to the Assyrians. Tiglath-Pileser sent an army against the rebels, and on the approach of the Assyrian forces a revolution took place at Samaria; Hoshea assassinated Pekah, and ascended the throne. He made his submission to the Ninevite monarch, who confirmed him in his position. Muthon then finding himself left without an ally, abandoned all hope of resistance, and made his submission to Tiglath-Pileser.

In 761 B.C., an intestine quarrel, the cause and details we are alike ignorant of, led the people of Sidon to take possession of Aradus, with the consent of the king of Tyre, and to establish colonists there, who constituted themselves a dominant aristocracy.†

4. The navy of the Greeks now once more began to plough the waves, and in a few years made great progress. An irresistible spirit of progress appeared in the Hellenic cities, urging them on to found colonies on all the sea-coasts, and to send there the surplus of their populations, too numerous for the soil of Greece to support. Many towns had been founded in Southern Italy during the first half of the eighth century, and thence the Greek colonies naturally soon spread to the coast of Sicily.‡ In 734 B.C., Theocles headed the first expedition, composed of Chalcidians, Megarians, and Naxians, who founded the towns of Naxos and Megara. The following year, 733, arrived Archias of Corinth, leading a large body of Corinthians and Corcyreans,

* Vol. i. p. 389.

† See MOVER'S *Phœnizische Alterthum*, vol. i. p. 99.

‡ See BRUNET DE PRESLES, *Recherches sur les établissements des Grecs en Sicile.* Paris, 1845, p. 71.

who built Syracuse. The settlement of these two colonies was the result of a well-considered policy, dictated by the oracle of Delphi, whose advice to those who wished to emigrate and build towns was that all should go in one direction.

In compliance with the counsels of the oracle, the Greek expeditions from that time made for Sicily, and in a few years their settlements covered the coasts of this richly favoured isle. The Tyrians, who possessed numerous factories there, were obliged to retreat before the Greeks; and their positions not being fortified, they were compelled to abandon them. But though forced to retire before the Greek colonists, they managed to keep a footing in the island. They maintained themselves in the three towns of Motya, "the muddy," Kepher, "the town," *par excellence*, afterwards called Soluntum, and Machanath, "the camp," named by the Greeks Panormus, which were doubtless in a better state of defence than the others. These three towns were situated at the western extremity of the island, and, being therefore nearer to Carthage than any of the other parts of Sicily, could more easily receive succour. In this way the Phœnicians, even after the foundation of the Greek towns, managed to maintain a trade with Sicily, and with the native populations of the interior. The Carthaginians afterwards came into possession of these three Tyrian cities, and, making use of them as places for disembarkation, were able to carry on their warlike expeditions for the conquest of Sicily.

5. Soon after the arrival of the Greek colonists had ruined the majority of the Tyrian factories in Sicily, a storm broke over the Phœnicians, such as had not occurred since the ruin of Sidon by the Philistines, and the result effected a change in the political conditions of the country, now five centuries old, by putting an end to the supremacy of Tyre over the other towns. These events closed the second period of Phœnician history.*

A king, named Eluli, ascended the throne of Tyre about the year 726 B.C. It was, therefore, about the time of his accession that the Greek invasion of Sicily occurred. He, however, speedily recovered the prestige of the Tyrian power, by quelling with his fleet a revolt in the important town of Citium, in the Island of Cyprus. Scarcely had he gained this success than Sargon, king of Assyria, after having taken and destroyed Samaria, conquered Hanon, king of Gaza, and defeated Shebek, king of Ethiopia and Egypt, at the battle of Raphia, penetrated into Phœnicia with his victorious army, and exacted from its wealthy cities the tribute they had paid to Tiglath-Pileser (720). Sidon, Acco, and all the other towns did not venture to resist the Ninevite conqueror, but opened their gates and hastened to obey his commands.

* MENANDER *ap.* JOSEPH. *Antiq.* IX. xiv. 2.

Abandoned by all the other Phœnicians, Eluli alone stood firm, and refused to submit. Even the Tyrians did not as a body support him in this brave resolution of defending himself to the uttermost against foreign aggression. The town on the main land deserted the cause of the king, and admitted Sargon within its walls, either from fear of the Assyrian power or from jealousy of the insular town, which had robbed it of its ancient importance, or possibly because it was the stronghold of the aristocratic party, who had been deprived of power 130 years before, by Piimeliun. Eluli shut himself up in the maritime town, defended on all sides by the sea, and there, surrounded by a population equally determined with himself on resistance, he defied his formidable enemy.

Sargon, having obliged the other Phœnician towns to supply him with sixty ships, manned by 800 rowers, imagined that he could easily conquer insular Tyre. But the Tyrians, with but twelve vessels, went out to meet his fleet, defeated it, sunk many ships, and took 500 prisoners. The king of Assyria, unwilling to try the chance of another naval combat, laid siege to Tyre, and committed the direction of the operations to his generals. This siege progressed but slowly, and was at last converted into a blockade. As the islands, where the town was built, had no water-springs, the Assyrian generals thought that by destroying the aqueduct built by Hiram, to convey water to the harbour from the springs of Ras-el-Ain, they might speedily starve the people into submission. They had not, however, taken into account the indomitable energy of the Tyrians, who, determined to hold out to the last, began to dig wells on the rock, and at last succeeded in reaching a subterranean spring. The danger of perishing from thirst being thus averted, they were enabled to prolong their resistance. The siege lasted five years; and at last the lieutenants of Sargon, tired of their useless efforts, and seeing no probable end to their undertaking, decided on raising the siege. This took place in 715 B.C.

Section IV.—Assyrian Dominion in Phœnicia—Siege and Capture of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar (715—574).

1. Victorious in the struggle with Assyria, Tyre gained great glory by its heroic resistance. But the other Phœnician cities, now tributary to Sargon, had thrown off allegiance, and, moreover, during the siege, Thasos, the last Tyrian colony in the seas of Thrace remaining after the fall of the last settlements in the Archipelago, was lost. The inhabitants of Paros, who coveted the valuable gold mines of the island, took the opportunity, whilst Tyre was engaged in defending herself and

therefore unable to succour her colony, to take possession of it. An expedition disembarked at Thasos, drove out the Phœnicians, replaced them by Parian colonists, and conquered the native Thracian inhabitants who worked the mines for the Tyrians.* The poet, Archilochus, joined this expedition.

Sargon soon had an opportunity of revenging the check his arms had received before Tyre, by taking one of their most flourishing colonies from the Tyrians, the same that Eluli had reduced to obedience a few years before. In 708 a fleet, manned and equipped for the Assyrian monarch in the Phœnician and Philistine ports, conveyed an army to the Island of Cyprus, which submitted without resistance. In the town of Citium, belonging to Tyre, Sargon raised a stele commemorative of his conquest. This stele has been preserved to our days, and is now in the Museum at Berlin. From that time the city ceased to belong to Tyre, and shared the fate of the rest of the Island of Cyprus. Its population, however, always remained almost exclusively Phœnician.

2. Sargon was assassinated in 704, and an insurrection, evidently in concert with the murderers, broke out in Babylon. The indomitable Eluli profited by these events to re-establish his supremacy over the other towns of Phœnicia, and to withhold the tribute they had paid the Assyrians. But in the year 700 the terrible Sennacherib arrived in Syria at the head of a numerous army, intending first to subjugate this country, and then to invade Egypt. On the arrival of the son of Sargon in Phœnicia, the greater part of the towns—Sidon, Aradus (governed by a certain Abdilit), Simrou (where the king was named Mihimmi), Gebal and its prince Uranilk, Sarepta, Us, Achzib, Acco, and Betzitti, a town very near Sidon—submitted, as on a former occasion, at the mere intelligence of the advance of the conqueror. Eluli retired to insular Tyre, hoping again to defend himself successfully as against Sargon. But on this occasion fortune forsook him; he was conquered, and the town taken. In the place of Eluli, who fled, Sennacherib placed on the throne an individual named Ethbaal, who submitted to be his vassal and tributary. In commemoration of his victory, and of the complete conquest of Phœnicia, Sennacherib caused to be sculptured on the rocks of Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beyrut, triumphal bas reliefs, still to be seen side by side with those executed by order of the Pharaoh Ramses II., at the same place.

3. There is one circumstance worthy of remark in the accounts which have come down to us of the two wars of Sargon and Sennacherib against Eluli. This is, the readiness evinced on both occasions by all the Phœnician cities to abandon the cause of Tyre, to open their gates to the Assyrian monarch, and, not content with leaving their metropolis

* CLEM. ALEX., *Stromat.* i. 21, 131. Paris, 1590, p. 360.

to fight its own battles unaided, even to furnish its enemy with vessels to attack it. The terror inspired by the Ninevite power is not sufficient to explain this fact; there must also have been a profound feeling of jealousy on the part of the Phœnician cities with respect to Tyre, a desire to see her humbled, and to profit by her ruin.

It has always been found in history that cities placed in the position of Tyre, have in the end abused their power, and oppressed as subjects those who were at first their confederates. This seems to have been the case in Phœnicia. The Tyrians had caused their supremacy to be too heavily felt; they had reserved for themselves nearly all the profits of commerce, and reduced the inhabitants of other towns to the condition of servants rather than associates. And this explains the conduct of Sidon, Gebal, Acco, and the other cities, towards the king of Assyria, whose conquest they hailed with joy, because it put an end to the supremacy of Tyre, and placed all the maritime cities of the Canaanites on a footing of equality as servants of the same suzerain. This was the final result of the wars of the Ninevite monarchs; and after the campaign of Sennacherib, after Eluli had been dethroned and replaced by Ethbaal, Tyre, submitting to the new state of affairs, appears to have made no attempt to recover its ancient supremacy.

It is Sidon, not Tyre, that we find a little more than twenty years after the campaign of Sennacherib attempting to resist his son, Esarhaddon. When the proud son of Sargon was assassinated, there was a temporary disturbance in the Assyrian empire, Abdimilkut, king of Sidon, judged this a favourable opportunity to refuse his tribute, and to shake off the Assyrian yoke; doubtless hoping that, after he had made himself independent, he might again recover for his own profit the supremacy formerly exercised by Tyre. Esarhaddon, assembling a numerous army, soon arrived in Syria in person, and, before attacking Manasseh, king of Judah, marched against Sidon to quell the revolt. The town, besieged by land, was taken by assault. "I have put all its grandees to death," says Esarhaddon, in an inscription, "I destroyed its walls and its houses; I threw them into the sea. I destroyed the site of its temples."

Abdimilkut and a part of the population, seeing the town taken, took refuge on board ship, and, putting to sea, fancied themselves safe there, and that they could return to their homes on the departure of the Assyrian army. But Esarhaddon, procuring vessels from the other towns of Phœnicia, attacked the Sidonian fleet, defeated it, and took a considerable booty. A portion of the Sidonian population, reduced to captivity, were transported to Assyria. In the inscription on a cylinder now in the British Museum, this same Esarhaddon, enumerating a few years later the list of his vassal kings, mentions Baal, king of Tyre, Idiosahat, king of Gebal, Kulubaal, king of Aradus, and Abibaal, king

of Simrôn. There is no mention of Sidon, perhaps the city had not yet recovered from the terrible disaster consequent on the revolt of Abdimilkut.

In 667 B.C., the Phœnicians rose against Asshurbanipal and made an alliance with the Ethiopian monarch, Rot-Amen, son-in-law and successor to Tahraka. The following year, 666, Assburbanipal, after his third campaign in Egypt, suppressed the revolt of his Canaanitish vassals. He first of all took Acco, then Tyre, still governed by the king, Baal, whom he pardoned. Immediately afterwards the Ninevite conqueror laid siege to the insular city of Aradus, where he met with a vigorous resistance. At last, however, the place was taken, and its king, Yakindu, son of Kulubaal, killed himself to avoid falling into the hands of the Assyrians. His eight sons were made prisoners, and Asshurbanipal caused seven of them to be put to death in his presence. He spared the life of but one, the eldest, Azbaal, and made him king of Aradus. From this time to the end of the reign of Esarhaddon, the fidelity of Phœnicia to the king of Nineveh remained unshaken.

4. The dominion of the Assyrian empire at this period of its greatest strength was, however, drawing to a close. In 625 B.C., Saracus, the last king of Nineveh, was besieged in his capital by Cyaxares. The Scythian invasion then occurred, and the destruction of Nineveh was deferred for a few years. After temporarily subjugating Media and defeating Cyaxares, the Scythian hordes overran the whole of Western Asia, as far as the frontiers of Egypt, where they halted, and retreated northwards. Both in their advance and retreat they passed through Phœnicia, and on each occasion laid waste the open country; but the fortified cities, protected by their walls, were able to defy the enemy, and none of the Phœnician cities shared the fate of Ascalon, that was taken and sacked by these barbarous Turanian horsemen.

In 610, the Assyrian monarchy was finally destroyed; and Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, conquered all the provinces of Mesopotamia, as far as the Euphrates. Pharaoh Necho then, wishing to share the spoils of the Ninevite empire, and to follow the warlike example of the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, crossed his frontier, defeated and killed Josiah, king of Judah, at Megiddo, and made himself master of Syria. The Phœnician towns joyfully received the Egyptians, and submitted to them without resistance; glad to be delivered from the Assyrians, whose yoke they had found so heavy, and doubtless also remembering the privileges enjoyed in former times by Sidon, under Egyptian supremacy. It was at this period that Necho undertook, with the assistance of Tyrian sailors, the enterprise of circumnavigating Africa; but, although the attempt was successful, no practical and commercial result followed, and the experiment was not repeated.

5. The commerce of Phœnicia had not diminished during the period of Assyrian supremacy. The riches of Tyre in particular were as great as ever. Although the city of Melkarth had ceased to govern the other Phœnician towns, it still possessed its commercial fleet, its markets, and its great colonial power in the west of the Mediterranean, in Africa, and in Spain. There are even strong reasons for believing that at this period, as the produce of the tin mines in Spain was becoming sensibly less, the Tyrians ventured on more distant voyages, and braved the waves of the Atlantic, to procure directly from the British Isles, tin from the mines of Cornwall.* This metal had in very early times been carried from Britain as far as the Mediterranean, by river conveyance, and had proved a source of wealth to many Gallic tribes; boats ascended the Seine, and after a short transit by land, descended the Saone, and then the Rhone; and the town of Alesia, situated in the mountains separating the basins of the Seine and the Saone, in the track of this commerce, was said to have been founded by Hercules, or Melkarth, the national god of the Tyrians. However this may be, Tyre had rapidly recovered from the losses inflicted on her by Sargon and Sennacherib.

The magnificent description of the riches and glory of Tyre, given by the prophet Ezekiel (chap. xxvii.), refers to this period of Assyrian dominion. In this description is unfolded to our eyes a complete picture of the extent of the commerce of the Phœnician city. Tyre, though no longer the political head of Phœnicia, was still queen of its cities, and was the most populous, the most industrious, the wealthiest of all the Phœnician towns, the city whose vessels ploughed all seas, and that was "a merchant of the people for many isles."

But the decrees of Providence had condemned all this prosperity and wealth, accompanied by terrible depravity, to speedy annihilation. The voice of the prophets had long announced the fall of Tyre, and the hour had now come.

6. In 606 B.C., Necho, defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar, lost the whole of Syria in one day, and was hotly pursued by his opponent as far as the frontiers of Egypt. Suddenly recalled to Babylon by the death of his father in the beginning of 604, Nebuchadnezzar abandoned for the time his attack on the kingdom of Judah, and on the Phœnician cities. The latter were also spared when, on two occasions, in 602 and in 599, the Chaldæan conqueror reappeared in Syria, and twice took Jerusalem. They then began to believe themselves secure. But at this time of their greatest confidence, Ezekiel pronounced his eloquent prophecy against the city of Melkarth. (Ezek. xxvi. 2.) "Because that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha, she is broken, that was the gates of the people: she is turned unto me: I shall be

* STRABO iii. 5. 11; see DE ROUGEMONT, *L'Age de Bronze.*

replenished, now she is laid waste: therefore thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I am against thee, O Tyrus, and will cause many nations to come up against thee, as the sea causeth his waves to come up. And they shall destroy the walls of Tyrus, and break down her towers: I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her like the top of a rock. It shall be a place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea: for I have spoken it, saith the Lord God: and it shall become a spoil to the nations. And her daughters which are in the field shall be slain by the sword; and they shall know that I am the Lord. For thus saith the Lord God; Behold I will bring upon Tyrus Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon, a king of kings, from the north, with horses, and with chariots, and with horsemen, and companies, and much people. He shall slay with the sword thy daughters in the field: and he shall make a fort against thee, and cast a mount against thee, and lift up the buckler against thee. And he shall set engines of war against thy walls, and with his axes he shall break down thy towers."

In 590 the fulfilment of this prophecy commenced. Uahprahet, king of Egypt, had succeeded in organising a league against Nebuchadnezzar, he was joined by Zedekiah, king of Judah, and by the Phœnician cities under Ethbaal III., king of Tyre. But Nebuchadnezzar attacked the confederates before they had time to concentrate their forces. After having compelled the Egyptian army to retire without even offering battle, he reduced the towns of Lachish and Azekah in the kingdom of Judah, and laid siege to Jerusalem, which he took and destroyed at the end of eighteen months (588 B.C.) In the commencement of the following year the eastern part of the Delta was invaded and pillaged, and then the Babylonian troops marched against Phœnicia. At their approach all the towns hastened to submit. Tyre alone ventured to resist. Ethbaal shut himself up within his fortifications, hoping to weary out the Chaldæan prince, and also to receive succour from Uahprahet. Ezekiel (xxix. 18) had predicted that the siege should be so long, and so close, that "Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled." It lasted thirteen years,* and the Tyrians displayed that indomitable energy, courage almost amounting to ferocity, and obstinacy, which always distinguished the Canaanites whenever they were driven to defend their homes, and to resist an enemy from behind their walls.

The continental city was first attacked, it was taken and completely destroyed. The defenders then, as in the times of Sargon and Sennacherib, retreated to the insular city, and there sustained a renewed siege, presenting more difficulties to the assailants, as there were natural obstacles to surmount far more formidable than those created by art.†

* JOS., *Contra Apion* i. 21. † JEROME, *Com. in Ezek.* xxvi.

It was not till 574, when Nebuchadnezzar came from Babylon to press the siege in person, that Tyre was at last carried by storm, pillaged and partly destroyed.

This disaster was so great that the proud city never recovered itself, and from that time merely dragged on a lingering existence without the power to form a new navy, to regain its commerce, or to protect its colonies, which henceforth attached themselves to Carthage. The king, Ethbaal, was led captive to Babylon, and with him all the most noted families. Another part of the population embarked at the moment of assault on board the remains of the fleet, and sought an asylum at Carthage. Nebuchadnezzar installed a personage, named Baal, as vassal king at Tyre.

SECTION V.—INVASION OF UAHPRAHET—DOMINION OF THE BABYLONIANS—THE PHŒNICIAN CITIES UNDER THE FIRST PERSIAN KINGS (574—506).

1. THE Egyptian, Uahprahet, had not been able to come to the succour of Jerusalem, or even, notwithstanding the length of the siege, to the help of Tyre. It was not till after the fall of the great Phœnician city that his military preparations were completed, and he entered on the campaign. The Chaldæans had acquired so marked a superiority by land, that Pharaoh did not dare to attack them in Palestine. He managed, with the aid of the numerous Ionians and Carians engaged in his service, to equip such a fleet as had not been seen in Egypt since the days of Thothmes III., and the struggle took place by sea.

The fleet of Uahprahet set sail for Phœnicia, doubtless with the hope that its mere presence would suffice to raise an insurrection. But the Phœnicians had been so effectually subdued by Nebuchadnezzar, and were so conscious of the superiority of his arms, that the fear of suffering the fate of Tyre ensured to the Chaldæan monarch the faithful service of their vessels. The Phœnician fleet, joined to that of the little kingdoms of the island of Cyprus, which without the least resistance had, after the battle of Carchemish, recognised the supremacy of Nebuchadnezzar, advanced to meet the fleet of Uahprahet and to dispute its passage.

A great naval battle took place near Cyprus, and victory declared for the Greek and Carian vessels in the service of the king of Egypt. Following up this success, Pharaoh's fleet levied contributions on all the towns of the Phœnician coast, and took Sidon by storm; the fleet, however, did not attempt to hold its conquests, but retired, contented with a considerable amount of plunder. Aradus also was occupied by the Egyptians, who maintained a garrison there for some time, as we

learn from some hieroglyphical inscriptions lately discovered there, dating from the reign of Uahprahet. This expedition to Phœnicia was rather a maritime raid on a large scale, without political results, than a serious attempt to recover the country from Nebuchadnezzar.

2. The Sidonians had long been jealous of the Tyrians, and were not only pleased at the misfortunes that had befallen the latter, but also hastened to profit by them; and as Tyre was completely destroyed, its trade naturally reverted to Sidon. This port became again the great emporium of Phœnicia, and its navy rapidly increased. Whilst the city of Melkarth had been heroically defending its liberty in the unequal struggle against Nebuchadnezzar, Sidon surrendered at once to the Babylonian king, and studied to gain his favour by unqualified submission. This conduct obtained for Sidon from Nebuchadnezzar considerable commercial privileges and valuable additions to its territories.

At this period of Phœnician history, immediately after the war of Uahprahet, we must place the reign of Esmunazar, king of Sidon, whose sarcophagus, with a Phœnician inscription, the longest at present known, was discovered a few years ago, and presented to the Museum of the Louvre by the princely munificence of the Duc de Luynes. "I," says this monarch, in his epitaph, "I am Esmunazar, king of Sidon, son of Tabnith, king of Sidon, grandson of Esmunazar, king of Sidon; and my mother was Amashtoreth, priestess of our lady Ashtaroth, the queen, daughter of the king Esmunazar of Sidon. We built the temple of the Alonim (the great gods) at Sidon on the seashore, and all-powerful Heaven has made Ashtaroth favourable to us. We also have built on the mountain a temple to Esmun, whose hand rests on a serpent. Lastly, we also built the temples of the Alonim of Sidon at Sidon, of the Baal of Sidon, and of Ashtaroth, the glory of Baal. May the master of the kings always grant us possession of Dor, Japha, and the magnificent corn lands in the vale of Sharon, as a recompense for the great things I have done."

We see by these expressions that one of the principal cares of Esmunazar during his reign was to restore the temples of Sidon, destroyed when the town was taken and pillaged by the Egyptians; and this affords us important assistance in deciding on the date of this king's reign. We also learn that "the master of kings," that is probably the suzerain monarch, Nebuchadnezzar, had conferred on his Sidonian vassal a valuable tract of land, a portion of the recently-destroyed kingdom of Judah, the plain of Sharon, in the neighbourhood of Japha and Lydda, famous for its fertility; and also the towns of Japha, the Joppa of the Greeks, and Dor, situated at the two extremities of the plain.

3. We have already stated that Tyre, even in its humbled state, was still governed by a king of its own. A fragment of the Tyrian annals,

translated by Menander and preserved by Josephus,* relates the vicissitudes of the internal history of this city during the short domination of the Babylonians. Baal, the king who had been placed on the throne by Nebuchadnezzar, reigned ten years, but in the beginning of 563 he was suddenly deposed in a popular tumult; monarchical government was abolished, and republican magistrates installed, with the title of suffetes. The date of this revolution coincides with that of the madness of the Chaldæan conqueror, and it seems that the Tyrians hastened to profit by an event so disastrous to the Babylonian empire, and to free themselves from the king imposed upon them.

The overthrow of Baal was followed by a period of anarchy, during which several parties strove for power, and the government was constantly changing hands. Ecnibaal, son of Baalsyllech, was the first suffete, but only for two months. His successor, Caleb, son of Abdai, governed ten months. After him, Habbar, the high-priest of Melkarth, obtained the sovereign power, but retained it only three months. It was then resolved to increase the number of suffetes to two, and the people elected Muthon and Gerashtaroth, sons of Abdelim, to that office. They remained in power six years, and after that, royalty was re-established by Baalator. The stormy times, during which these personages rapidly succeeded each other at Tyre, correspond to the no less troubled period, when, at Babylon, Evil Merodach, Nergalsarossor, and Bellabarisruk succeeded each other on the throne. As the Tyrians still continued to pay tribute, none of the Chaldæan princes cared to interfere in their internal administration.

After reigning one year, Baalator was dethroned. Menander records that a prince of the ancient royal house, named Meherbaal, was released from captivity at Babylon, and sent by his suzerain to take possession of the throne of Tyre (555). This was the time when Nabonahid, having assumed the crown in the capital of Chaldæa, was engaged in re-establishing unity and regularity in the government of the empire, and in remedying the disorders consequent on the revolutions that had occurred. Meherbaal died after a reign of four years (551), and was succeeded by his brother, Hiram; and in the fourteenth year of his reign (537), Cyrus, the conqueror of Babylon, was recognised as suzerain by Phœnicia. Hiram governed six years longer as the vassal of Cyrus, and died in 531, leaving the crown of Tyre to his son, Muthon, who was still reigning at the period of the expedition of Xerxes against Greece.

4. The Phœnician towns, as soon as Cyrus had made himself master of Babylon, passed, without an attempt at resistance, from the Chaldæan to the Persian rule, and submitted to the authority of the conqueror.

* Jos. *Contra Apion*, i. 21.

They were perfectly submissive to their new masters, paid the same tribute as of old, and furnished vessels for expeditions, such, for instance, as the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses. But when this king was desirous of attacking Carthage, the Phœnician seamen refused to be employed for the purpose of subjugating their fellow-countrymen.

CHAPTER IV.

CIVILISATION, MANNERS, AND INFLUENCE OF THE PHŒNICIANS ON OTHER NATIONS.

SECTION I.—COMMERCE.

1. COMMERCE, and especially maritime commerce, as has been seen in our account of their history, was always the principal business of the Phœnicians. We may almost say that their annals, except a few warlike episodes, when they were compelled to defend their country, are in reality little more than those of a large commercial firm. This, however, naturally resulted from the situation of their country. Placed at the extremity of the Asiatic continent, on the shores of the great sea which afforded direct communication with Africa and Europe, Phœnicia seemed intended by nature for the central commercial depôt of the East and West. For many centuries the Phœnician fleets were the only means of intercourse between Asia, Europe, and Africa. Both the nature and the routes of the primitive commerce carried on by the Phœnicians may be described with certainty. The tribes with whom they trafficked were still in the savage state, with no arts, precisely in the condition of the natives of Australasia when first discovered by European navigators. The Canaanites, on the other hand, were artists as well as merchants; they had brought some arts to the highest degree of perfection. Their metallic productions are mentioned in the Egyptian inscriptions at the period of the eighteenth dynasty; their tissues were celebrated throughout the ancient world; certain dyes, purple for instance, were entirely their monopoly; their glass, of which we possess numerous samples, equalled that of Venice in the middle ages. They were not only the brokers of the great industrial and civilised nations, between whom their country was placed, Egypt and Assyria, but they also manufactured on their own account, and had their own mercantile interests to advance in the discoveries incessantly made by their adventurous sailors.

Under these conditions, their commerce was carried on by barter. They went first to Greece, then to Spain, to France, to Italy, to Libya, still in a savage state, and, in later times, to the British Isles, and even at one period to India, where they received from the inhabitants metals, woods, and the various materials that each of these countries could supply. In return, they supplied manufactured goods, implements of metal, linen, earthenware, glass, the varied productions which Phœnicia had introduced, and which soon became necessary to these populations, who had already risen above the customs and arts of the stone age, but were still incapable of manufacturing implements and clothing for themselves.

This seems to explain how it was that these great Phœnician merchants, whom the Venetians, the Dutch, and even the English in modern times have scarcely equalled, after having been led by the necessities of their commercial operations to simplify writing, and invent the alphabet, did not advance to the invention of coined money. During the many centuries of their commercial prosperity, they did not feel any necessity for the use of money, a necessity felt only in commerce with civilised, and not with uncivilised, nations; and they allowed the Greeks to reap the credit and advantage of an invention so important and so fruitful in its results.

In later times the conditions of Phœnician commerce necessarily changed. They themselves had contributed more than any other people to the material civilisation of all parts of the Mediterranean basin; but their trade, though carried on with partly civilised nations, did not slacken. The mode in which it was conducted and its objects were changed, but its activity was not diminished. It was always from Asia that the most civilised nations of the West, the Greeks especially, procured certain articles of luxury, and their demand increased as they acquired the refinements of a civilised and luxurious life. And although these nations manufactured largely for their own wants, they always sought and esteemed the products of many branches of oriental industry.

2. The vast maritime commerce of the Phœnicians was naturally connected with a commerce by land, not less extensive, by means of caravans. Several great commercial roads, frequented by the Phœnician merchants, traversed the continent of Europe, and enabled them to procure the valuable productions of inland countries, to which their navy could not gain access. We have already mentioned * that the tin of Cornwall was brought across Gaul to the mouths of the Rhone, long before the Phœnicians had ventured to sail as far as the Cassiterides.

It is not less certain that from the period of Sidonian supremacy,

* Page 194.

yellow amber from the shores of the Baltic, was procured by the Phœnicians in their maritime expeditions, and introduced into Asia It is, however, impossible, in spite of the arguments of some learned men, to admit that the vessels of Sidon or Tyre frequented, at any period, the Baltic or the coasts of Prussia, where amber is found. They embarked this valuable article at the mouths of the Eridanus (the Po), and for a long time the Greeks believed that it was found there. It was, however, carried by caravans across Germany, and, in return, articles of Asiatic—in later times, of Etruscan—art, were dispersed throughout Germany and Scandinavia by the same means, where they exercised a great influence on the infant art of the natives.*

In the interior of Asia, especially, this inland commerce of the Phœnicians was most active. The caravans conveyed to the Canaanitish sea-ports the raw or manufactured materials of the East, and then shipping these goods in their vessels, distributed them on the shores of the Mediterranean, in exchange for the productions of the West.

To form an idea of the extent of this land commerce of the Phœnicians, we must consider the three principal routes it followed. The first was for the South, or Indian and Arabian trade; the second for the commerce of the East, or the Assyro-Babylonian: the third for the traffic of the North, or the Armenio-Caucasian.

3. On the first route, the caravans started for the various parts of Southern Arabia, Hadramaut, and Oman. They brought back the productions of those lands—gold, precious stones—such as onyx and agate—incense, myrrh, laudanum; goods from India were landed in the ports of Aden, Cana and Haran—such as jewels, spices, ivory, precious and scented woods; and from the Ethiopian coast, close to Yemen, came gold, ivory, ebony, and ostrich feathers. The transport of this traffic was performed by Arab tribes, principally the people of Kedar, in the south of desert Arabia, the Midianites, and the Idumæans of Arabia Petræa. "Arabia and all the princes of Kedar," says Ezekiel, addressing Tyre, "they were the merchants of thy hand in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these were they thy merchants. The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold. Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad were thy merchants. These were thy merchants in all sorts

* See on this subject the work of M. de Rougemont, *L'Age de Bronze*, (Paris, 1866); the author of this work has admirably illustrated and presented a most interesting view of the effects of Phœnician commerce on the semi-barbarous people of Southern and Western Europe; but he seems to be in error in omitting all mention of Etruscan art, which seems from many examples to have had great influence on the productions of the bronze age in these countries.

of things, in blue clothes, and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar, among thy merchandise."

The caravans of Yemen, conducted by the Midianites and Idumæans, went northwards, keeping at a little distance from the coast, as far as Macoraba (Mecca), or Yambo, and Havara (called by the Greeks Leuce Come), traversed Medina, thence gained Sela or Petra, the capital of the Nabatheans, and finally arrived in Phœnicia by way of Moab and Ammon. Those of Hadramaut and Oman, conducted by the people of Kedar, went to Gerra on the Persian Gulf, a considerable port, where many ships from India unloaded. Thence other caravans, crossing the deserts of the interior of Arabia, passing from oasis to oasis, proceeded to Tyre by the route that we have mentioned at the beginning of this Book,* as the one probably followed by the Canaanites in their great migration.

The Phœnicians kept up a regular communication with Egypt, Palestine, and Aramæan Syria. It appears from the account given by Herodotus† that in the early days of Phœnician commerce they were merely the exporters of the productions of Egypt and Assyria. Ezekiel says, "Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail."

"Judah, and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants; they traded in thy market wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm. Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making, for the multitude of all riches; in the wine of Helbon, and white wool." The wine of Helbon, or Aleppo, was considered the best in all Asia. The wool of the flocks fed in the deserts of Syria was equally celebrated for its fineness. It was this wool, woven and dyed a brilliant purple in the workshops of Tyre and Sidon, which was so highly esteemed throughout the ancient world, and formed one of the principal branches of Phœnician commerce.

4. Aramæa was the first station of the traffic between Phœnicia, and Babylon, and Nineveh. The Syrians were, for the commerce of north and east, the agents and carriers of the Phœnician merchandise, as the Midianites, the Idumæans, and the people of Kedar were in Southern Arabia. Crossing the Lebanon and the Anti-Libanus, they passed by Baalbek (the Heliopolis of the Greeks), Damascus and Emesa. At this latter town the roads to Chaldæa and Assyria separated. The Nineveh route took the direction still followed by travellers to Mosul, by way of Hamath, Helbon (Aleppo), Edessa (Orfa), and Nisibis. The road to Babylon penetrated into the eastern desert, where the caravans found a resting place at Tadmor (Palmyra), and thence journeyed direct to Thapsacus, on the Euphrates. The merchandise of

* Page 145. † HER. i. 1.

Babylon was conveyed by river to this latter town, and the merchants of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine assembled there for a great market, or fair. Ezekiel does not specify the articles received in this way by Tyre. But the commerce of Babylon is sufficiently well known to enable us to guess. (Besides excellent cotton and linen manufactures, the Babylonians exported an immense variety of articles for ornament or luxury, delicately carved canes, cut jewels, and perfumes, the use of which even then was very general in the East.) It was by way of Babylon that the Phœnicians received the products of the interior of Asia. We have already mentioned that caravans from this great city went as far as Bukaria* and Little Thibet, and in this way the people of Syria became acquainted with the silk mentioned in Ezekiel (Ezek. xvi. 10-13.)

5. We know nothing of the commerce of Phœnicia in northern countries but what the prophet tells us (Ezek. xxvii. 13, 14). "Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants; they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy market. They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen and mules." Tubal and Meshech, as we have already said† when on the subject of the genealogy of the descendants of Noah, represent the countries in the north of Asia Minor, in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, the country of the Tibareni, and Moschi. Togarmah is Armenia.

The trade mentioned by the prophet is still carried on in these countries, and the Russian conquest alone has stopped the slave trade between Georgia, Circassia, and the neighbouring Mahometan countries, by which the harems of Turkey and Persia were replenished. When Xenophon, at the head of the Ten Thousand, arrived in the country of the Carduchi, he was astonished at the quantity of metallic utensils possessed by this people. The Chalybes, their near neighbours, had been celebrated for their metallurgy from time immemorial. Copper is as abundant in that district now as then. It forms a considerable article of the commerce with Bagdad and Bassora; all household utensils are exclusively made of copper, and nearly all the artificers are braziers. Armenia still produces the finest horses; the Nisæan coursers, so celebrated in ancient history, and remarkable no less for beauty of colour and glossy skin than for the perfection of their shape, were considered the only horses worthy of being harnessed to the chariots of the Persian kings.

6. All this variety of commerce for so many centuries, both by land and sea, accumulated immense wealth in the Phœnician towns. But their enormous riches powerfully contributed to their fall, by exciting the cupidity of the Assyrian and Chaldæan monarchs, and by intro-

* Vol. i. p. 496. † Vol. i. p. 61.

ducing among the population immorality and deep depravity, vice and prodigality, the sure precursors of foreign conquest. Ezekiel said (xxviii. 13) to the Tyrians, "Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created. . . . By the multitude of thy merchandise they have filled the midst of thee with violence, and thou hast sinned: therefore I will cast thee as profane out of the mountain of God: and I will destroy thee, O covering cherub, from the midst of the stones of fire. Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty; thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness: I will cast thee to the ground; I will lay thee before kings, that they may behold thee. Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffic; therefore will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee, and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth in the sight of all them that behold thee. All they that know thee among the people shall be astonished at thee: thou shalt be a terror, and never shalt thou be any more."

Section II.—Colonies.

1. To facilitate their commerce, and give it more security and stability, the Phœnicians established depôts in all the countries frequented by their ships and merchants; factories, like those of our days, on the coast of Africa, and like the earliest European possessions in India. We have already mentioned,* with the date of their foundation, the principal of these establishments that formed an uninterrupted line of communication along the shores of the Mediterranean, as far as the columns of Hercules.

Twice only did the sons of Canaan attempt the formation of colonies, properly so called, occupying a considerable extent of territory, with an agricultural population, and strong enough to exercise supremacy over the natives. The one was in Bœotia, where Thebes was built, and the other in Africa, whence sprung the Lyby-Phœnician nation. With these two exceptions, the Phœnicians, at the time of their great prosperity, when all the maritime traffic of the ancient world was in their hands, made no establishments in foreign countries that can be considered more than mere factories. But these were found everywhere, and exercised great influence in the countries where they were planted. They grew by degrees

* Page 173, *seq.*

into great cities; as the semi-barbarous natives soon assembled themselves around the Phœnician factory, attracted by the advantages they found there, and by the conveniences of civilised life; and thus the factories became centres whence was spread the knowledge of material civilisation. A savage people cannot enter into a brisk and continued trade with a civilised nation without borrowing, little by little, a portion, at any rate, of its culture; and this must have been especially the case with races so intelligent and capable of progress as those of Europe. They soon felt new wants; they appreciated the manufactures imported, so superior to anything they had known before, and soon formed the wish of penetrating the secret of these manufactures; of acquiring arts so useful, and of utilising the resources of their country, instead of bartering its productions away to strangers who appeared to value them so highly.

2. But the influence of commerce on civilisation, and the part it has played in its propagation, is so well known that it is unnecessary for us to descant on it here. We merely wish to point out that in the early days of civilisation on the shores of the Mediterranean, the Phœnicians, who for centuries were the only merchants and navigators, contributed more than any other nation to disperse the fundamental secrets of art, and the first germs of culture, among the still barbarous nations of Europe and Africa.

Egypt and Assyria were the birthplaces of material civilisation, the Canaanites were its missionaries. From the Isles of Greece to the Straits of Gibraltar there is not a country that is not indebted to their teaching, not one where the fruitful effect of those bold voyages, represented in mythology by the voyages of Hercules, the national god of Tyre, was not felt. By Phœnician influence and teaching, Greece, Italy, France, Spain, on their first emerging from primitive barbarity, became Asiatic, until the day when their inhabitants felt themselves sufficiently advanced to assume an individuality of their own, and when their peculiar genius, fostered by this education, became capable of stamping a national civilisation with its own peculiar impress.

3. In this respect, it is impossible to exaggerate the part the Phœnicians played in the ancient world, and the assistance they gave to the first steps of the human race in the road to civilisation. An opinion we are almost tempted to adopt, and that may possibly—so rapid is the advance of archæological science—be, at some future time, supported by sufficient evidence, holds that the Canaanites of Sidon and Tyre first taught the fundamental secrets of metallurgy in Western Europe, and that the bronze age does not, as has been supposed, represent the irruption of a new race, supplanting the primitive savages of the stone age, but the era of Phœnician influence, and the first development of native art under this foreign teaching.

What is called the bronze age is that period in the development of civilisation when the use of stone utensils and arms was abandoned, and no other metal but bronze known, and every implement that in later times was of iron was made exclusively of bronze. In whatever country of Western Europe, whether Spain, Italy, Gaul, Germany, the British Isles, or in Scandinavia, they are found, all the articles of this age are composed of the same metallic alloy, and present such a striking similarity of form and ornament that it is easy to believe they all came out of one workshop. Moreover, the style of their ornaments is manifestly Asiatic.

The extent of Phœnician influence is unquestionably best seen in the history of the art of writing, and this part of the subject is so important that it requires to be considered in a separate section.

Section III.—The Phœnicians and Alphabetical Writing.

1. Writing seems originally to have been entirely *ideographic*, that is, an attempt to depict ideas. Amongst all early civilised nations the first specimens of writing are of this description, and the necessities arising from the progress of thought, and the constantly increasing variety of ideas to be expressed in writing, led to the introduction of the phonetic element, or the attempt to depict sounds. Different nations did not, however, make equal progress in this new art. The Turanians, the inventors of cuneiform writing, and their pupils, the Assyro-Chaldæans, as also the Chinese, never advanced beyond the syllabic form, considering a syllable, composed of a mute consonant, and the vocal sound that fixes its pronunciation, as indivisible, and representing it by a single sign or character. The Egyptians alone, an eminently philosophical nation, had conceived the idea of decomposing the syllable, and representing by distinct signs the consonant and the vowel; and thus they formed a true alphabet, the earliest in the world.

But though it had reached this point, the graphic system of the Egyptians preserved numerous traces of the different stages it had passed through. Up to the last days of their employment, in the reign of the Emperor Diocletian, the hieroglyphics of the land of the Pharaohs still retained figurative signs and symbolical characters; and in addition to the purely alphabetical signs, a certain number of syllabic characters were employed.

If it be remembered that, besides this mixture of characters of different properties, all ideographic signs assumed an arbitrary phonetic value, when used as initials of certain words, and also that many phonetic characters could be employed ideographically, we may form some idea

of the difficulties presented to the student in attempting to translate Egyptian hieroglyphical writing.

Doubtless, it was the most advanced of those systems of primitive writing that were originally purely ideographic, but still it is in the highest degree rudimentary and imperfect. Obscurities and uncertainties abound in every line of every inscription. Even the Egyptians must frequently have found themselves puzzled. A long course of study and constant practice must have been necessary, even to those who spoke the language, to enable them to write it correctly; and though the art of writing hieroglyphics was certainly not, as was once believed, kept a secret by the priests, and revealed only to a few chosen adepts—though it was the writing used by all classes on all occasions when writing was required—yet a system of writing so complicated, and requiring so much study, could not have been in very general use amongst the mass of the people. And so in consequence of the very nature of the system, not from any wish to preserve it as a secret impenetrable to the populace, those who knew how to read and write, the religious or civil scribes, formed a separate and small class in the nation.

2. Even after the Egyptians had learned how to analyse a syllable, and to separate the consonant from the vowel, there was still much to do before writing could be rendered sufficiently simple and clear to be of use to the majority of the people. It was necessary to get rid of all traces of ideographics, to dispense entirely with the use of syllabic characters, and to represent simply sounds by a real alphabet, employing one single invariable sign for each articulation. In this way alone could the written expression of thought be emancipated from the trammels of the rude and cumbrous system originally invented, and a method devised which should be simple, easy to learn, exact in expression, capable of adaptation to all phases of thought and to every variety of language.

In this state alone could the art of writing come into general use, and cease to be an abstruse and almost insoluble problem; in this state alone could it be used by all nations as an instrument equally applicable to all idioms and to all religions. A system of writing purely ideographic could not easily be learnt by one nation from another, for its use would have required the same ideas, the same civilisation, and almost the same language.

3. The Egyptians never attained to this last degree of perfection. Invincible obstacles prevented them from reaping the full benefit of the discovery that changed syllabic signs into real letters.

The first obstacle was custom, so great and almost irresistible in its influence on mankind. An art invented by any one people may be improved, and by slow degrees brought to perfection by their own suc-

cessive efforts; but to adopt a discovery made by another nation, opposed, probably, to the customs and habits of the people who receive it, is much more difficult. The next obstacle, quite as formidable, was a religious one. All primitive writing, in consequence of its symbolical nature, had an essentially religious character. The art of writing was, in the early dawn of civilisation among primitive nations, an exclusively priestly art; the invention of writing appeared so marvellous, that the populace regarded it as a gift from heaven. The hieroglyphic system was called by the Egyptians "the writing of the gods."

The Egyptians, after having arrived at the very brink of the discovery, left the invention of a perfect alphabet to others. All nations, however, were not in a position to arrive at this discovery, special conditions and a peculiar genius were required.

The most essential perhaps of all these conditions was free and constant communication with Egypt, and a knowledge of the progress made in that country towards the complete substitution of phonetic for ideographic characters in writing. This alone, however, would not have brought about the result, had not the people who were thus to perfect the art of writing had the practical experience of a large and varied commerce, carried on with many nations, and requiring the use of many languages. The extreme difficulty of using the complicated Egyptian system, and the absolute necessity for intelligible writing, must necessarily have led them to abandon ideographic characters, and to confine themselves to one single sign for each articulation.

The Phœnicians alone, of all the nations of the ancient world, occupied this position, and they finally perfected the art of writing by adopting a true alphabet; and the testimony of all writers of antiquity is unanimous in ascribing to them this invention. We have already said that their alphabet was formed by selecting from the characters of the Egyptian hieratic writing twenty-two letters, each to be the invariable representative of one articulation. We have also remarked that this invention must, to all appearances, be referred to the period when the Canaanites with their Shepherd kings governed Egypt.

4. The Phœnicians not only invented the alphabet, they taught the use of it to all other nations. Wherever they sailed, and established commercial intercourse, they also carried alphabetical writing. The secret of this art, so necessary for the progress of the human race, always held the first rank among the elements of the civilisation taught by the Phœnicians; and, to use the very happy expression of M. Renan, the alphabet was everywhere one of their "exports."

Not only do we know of no alphabet, properly so called, anterior to that of the Phœnicians, but all those found on ancient monuments, or used in our days, have been formed, more or less directly, from the first alphabet of these Canaanites.

5. Comparative philology has succeeded in grouping languages into families. Palæography, or the science of writing, has established a similar classification for alphabets, by retracing the successive steps, more or less numerous, between them and their original prototype. There are families of writings as well as of languages—families entirely independent the one of the other, and whose divisions do not correspond; a clear distinction between the character of the language and that of the writing is often met with.

The various known alphabets are easily arranged into five principal groups, corresponding to the different routes by which the Phœnicians promulgated this important invention. The *Semitic*, the *Greco-Italic*, and the *Iberian* groups, sufficiently defined by their names; the *northern* group, including the various species of Runic characters—the old national writing of the Scandinavians, the Germans, and the Sclaves, before their conversion to Christianity; and a last group, that we propose to call *Indo-Homerite*. This latter has the most distinctive character, from the adoption of a new principle, that of indicating vocal sounds by conventional marks attached to the figure of the consonant, and often sensibly changing its form. It appears to have been first used in Southern Arabia; thence it spread to Africa, on the one hand, where the Abyssinian and Lybian alphabets form a family by themselves with the Himyaritic, or alphabet of the ancient inhabitants of Yemen; in the other direction, to Ariana and to India, where the most ancient alphabet, the Magadhi, has been proved by M. Albrecht Weber to be connected with the Phœnician stock; and from this has been formed an immense variety of alphabets, subdivided into five families—the Devanagari, Pâli, Dravidian, Oceanic, and Thibetan, enumerated here in their chronological order.

The *Semitic* group answers exactly to the land commerce of Phœnicia with Aramæa and the Tigro-Euphrates basin; the *Greco-Italic* group with the Sidonian navigation in the Archipelago and in Greece, where the Hellenic legend attributes the introduction of writing to the colony of Cadmus, in Bœotia; lastly, the *Iberian* group to the Tyrian commerce with Southern Spain. The birthplace of the *northern* group of alphabets seems to have been in the countries bordering on the Black Sea, at the period when they were still inhabited by the ancestors of the Germans and Scandinavians. We have already stated that at one period the Phœnicians traded in this region. The *Indo-Homerite* group was the result of the flourishing trade between Phœnicia and the south of Arabia, and thence to India, on the one hand, and the eastern coast of Africa, on the other.

6. We have given a table of the Phœnician alphabet, separating, for the convenience of study, the forms in use at various periods, and those found in Phœnicia itself, from the characters employed in Carthage and

her colonies, also introducing the alphabet of the important Moabite inscription of Mesha, which was discovered and published while these sheets were in the press.

This most interesting and important inscription was discovered at Dhiban, the ancient Dibon, engraved on a stele of black basalt. The negotiations set on foot, with a view of obtaining possession of the stone, unfortunately resulted in leading the Arabs to believe that the Turks would make the stone a pretext for interfering in the government of the country; they therefore lighted a fire on the stone, and then by pouring water on it almost completely destroyed it.

Fortunately, several important *squeezes* of the inscription were obtained, and fragments of the stone secured by M. Ganneau and by Capt. Warren. M. Ganneau published a partially restored text and a translation, and subsequently amended both the text and translation in the *Revue Archéologique* (March and June, 1870). Capt. Warren sent to England *squeezes* and tracings of the two largest fragments, and from these materials the greater part of the text can be restored and translated.

The alphabet of the inscription is, as will be seen by reference to p. 213, the oldest known form of Semitic; the language closely resembles Hebrew, but both alphabet and diction exhibit some most interesting peculiarities.

This "Mesha"-stone, the oldest lapidary record of Palestine that has yet come to light, has, owing chiefly to its fragmentary nature, not yet been finally deciphered, though there is but little doubt as to the general gist of the greater portion of the text itself, as far as it is extant. Translation after translation has appeared, and we would particularly call attention to those of Nöldecke and Schlottmann; but there seem to be new materials still forthcoming, either in the shape of "chips," or amended "readings," by M. Ganneau, who, while this work is going through the press, is as yet in possession of the originals. Many of these tend either to supersede or to confirm many of the suggestions and hypotheses brought forward. Yet, whatever the ultimate result of the investigations on this subject, there can be no doubt of its most vital importance chiefly with regard to palæography.

As a specimen, we subjoin an early tentative translation after M. Ganneau, now obsolete in many details.

1. I, Mesha, son of Chemosh . . . king of Moab, [son]
2. of Ibni† . . . My father reigned over Moab [thirty years], and I reigned
3. after him; I made this altar for Chemosh at Karhah, on account
4. of the assistance he gave me in all battles, and because he made me successful against my enemies, the men
5. of the king of Israel, who oppressed Moab for a long time, for Chemosh was angry with
6. his land. His son succeeded him, and he also said, I will oppress Moab. In my days he [Chemosh] said [I will go]
7. and shine on Moab and his temple; then Israel wasted continually. Omri took [the plains of]
8. Mahdeba, and dwelt in it, . . . built forty . . . [and dwelt]
9. Chemosh there in my days. I built Baal Meon, and made [sacrifices] there, . . . and I [built]

† Compare Ibnijah, 1 Chron. ix. 8.

For the purposes of comparison, the early Hebrew of the coins, the Samaritan, the ancient Greek, and the later or square Hebrew, have been added. The relations between various alphabets have been specially studied by M. Lenormant, and it is his intention to publish on this subject an extended work, to which (in manuscript) the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* awarded a crown.

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10. Kiriathan. The men of Gad [dwelt] in [this] land from early
    times, and there built the king
11. of Israel [Jaazer]. I besieged the city, took it, and killed all
    [who dwelt]
12. in the city, to the gratification of Chemosh and Moab; I made
    captive there . . .
13. [and brought] before the face of Chemosh at Kerioth. I re-
    mained there with the chiefs and [soldiers until]
14. the next day. Then Chemosh bade me go and take Nebah
    from Israel. [I arose and]
15. went in the night, and fought against it, from the break of day
    till noon; I
16. took it, killed all, 7,000 . . . [to please Ashtar]
17. . . . for Chemosh devoted to Ashtar. . . . I took from there all
18. the vessels of Jehovah, and [offered] them before the face of
    Chemosh. And the king of Israel built
19. Jahaz, and dwelt there, when I made war on him. Chemosh
    drove him out from thence; I
20. took from Moab 200 men, all chiefs, transferred them to Jahaz,
    and began
21. to make war against Dibon. I built Karhah Hamath-ha-Jearim,*
    and Hamath-
22. ha. . . . I constructed their gates and their towers; I
23. built the palace, and I made —— (?) in the interior
24. of the town. There were no cisterns in the interior of the
    town of Karhah, and I said to the people, Make
25. Every one a cistern in his house. And I made the trench†
    round Karhah with [the men]
26. of Israel. I built [Aro]er, and I made the passage over the Arnon.
27. I built Beth Bamoth, which had been overthrown, and Bezer,
    which had been destroyed.
28. I fortified Dibon, to hold it in subjection, and I constructed
29. fortresses in the towns which I added to [my] land. I built
30. . . . and Beth Diblathaim, Beth Baal Meon, and transported
    thither [Moabites],
31. [to take possession of] the land. At Horonaim dwelt . . .
32. . . . Chemosh said to me, Go, fight against Horonaim, and I . . .
33. [and there dwelt] Chemosh in my days . . .
34. . . .

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* Or the fortress of the forest, and the fortress of . . .

† Compare Zeph. ii. 9. The word employed there is nowhere else used in the Bible. See *Englishman's Hebrew Concordance.*

Sound.	Modern Hebrew.	Hieratic	From the Stone of Moab (1869)
A	א		
B	ב		
G	ג		
D	ד		
H,E	ה		
V	ו		
Z	ז		
CH	ח		
T	ט		
I	י		
K	כ		
L	ל		
M	מ		
N	נ		
SS,X	ס		
O	ע		
P	פ		
TS	צ		
Q	ק		
R	ר		
S	ש		
TH	ת		

Old Greek.	Phœnician.	Old Hebrew Coins & Gems.	Samaritan.
Α	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀
Β	𐤁	𐤁	𐤁
Λ	𐤂	𐤂	𐤂
Δ	𐤃	𐤃	𐤃
Ǝ	𐤄	𐤄	𐤄
Ϝ	𐤅	𐤅	𐤅
Ζ	𐤆	𐤆	𐤆
Η	𐤇	𐤇	𐤇
⊗	𐤈		𐤈
ι	𐤉	𐤉	𐤉
Κ	𐤊	𐤊	𐤊
Λ	𐤋	𐤋	𐤋
Μ	𐤌	𐤌	𐤌
Ν	𐤍	𐤍	𐤍
Ξ	𐤎	𐤎	𐤎
Ο	𐤏	𐤏	𐤏
Π	𐤐	𐤐	𐤐
	𐤑	𐤑	𐤑
Ϙ	𐤒	𐤒	𐤒
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Section IV.—Arts and Agriculture.

1. We have already said that the Phœnicians were artisans as well as seamen and merchants. Although they acted as brokers for the productions of Assyria, Chaldæa, and Egypt, they also manufactured very many things themselves; and some articles, of which they had a monopoly, enjoyed an immense reputation in the ancient world. At the head of the Phœnician manufactures we must place the purple dyes, so prized by the ancients; one shade, the rarest and most beautiful, was exclusively used by royalty. The secret of this purple dye was known only to the maritime Canaanites; the mythological legend ascribed its discovery to Melkarth, the god of Tyre. It was obtained from marine mollusca, specially from several varieties of the murex. This purple was a dark red violet, of various shades, according to the species of mussel employed.

The Phœnicians used not only the fish of their own shores, they also procured them from different parts of the Mediterranean. The true royal purple, the most beautiful, the most brilliant and the most valuable, came from the fisheries of Tyre and its immediate neighbourhood; it was procured from the *murex trunculus*. The Grecian Seas furnished a dye, more nearly approaching to violet, extracted from the *murex brandaris:* the principal fisheries were in the Islands of Nisyros and Cythera, the southern extremity of the Peloponnesus, along the coast of Laconia, and at several places on the coast of Sicily. They also procured from the British Isles a dark shade, called "black purple," but it has not yet been ascertained with certainty what species produced it.

Cotton, linen, or silk stuffs were dyed purple; but it was more especially used for woollen fabrics, either procured ready woven from Asiatic countries, or else manufactured by the Phœnicians themselves with great skill from the peculiarly fine fleeces of the flocks of the Syrian deserts. As this dye was very costly, it was only used for stuffs of the best quality. The process of dyeing was extremely complicated; the fabrics were twice passed through the bath of dye (*purpuræ dibaphæ*), and the shade was varied by successively employing, during this double operation, purples of different origin and tints.

Another art equally developed among the Phœnicians was that of glass making. A number of ancient authors have ascribed the invention of this substance to them, and asserted that for several centuries it remained a secret in their hands. The monuments confute this assertion; for we see glass-blowing frequently represented on the Egyptian tombs of the fourth and fifth dynasties. But they prove, at the same time, the great activity of the Phœnician glass makers, who principally lived at Sidon and Sarepta, as did the dyers at Tyre. The sand they

employed was procured from the banks of the little river Belus, not far from Carmel; it was considered of superior quality for this purpose, as is now all over Europe the sand of Fontainebleau. We are enabled to judge of the wonderful skill of the Phœnician glass makers, as a considerable number of articles of their manufacture have been preserved to our days. They specially excelled in the execution of vases of opaque enamel, with zones and ribands of brilliant colours, always harmoniously intermingled and produced by the same process as the *vetri tarsiati* of the Venetians in the sixteenth century, by means of rods of enamel placed side by side, and fused together. Among the ancients this process was peculiar to the Phœnicians, and must be considered as an original invention of the Sidonians.

3. Equally skilled in pottery as in glass making, the Phœnicians taught the Greeks the art of making painted vases—an art afterwards carried to so high a degree of perfection by the Hellenic populations. The oldest vases of this sort manufactured by the Greeks are exact copies of Phœnician works; and a portion of those of the oldest epoch, found in some islands of the Archipelago, Thera and Melos for example, appear to have been the work of the Canaanites themselves, when they inhabited those islands. Pottery was always one of the chief exports of Phœnicia; and at the close of the Tyrian epoch, when long voyages in the Atlantic were undertaken towards the Scilly Isles and Great Britain, it was one of the articles most abundantly supplied to the natives by the navigators in exchange for tin.

4. We have already said a few words on the subject of the metallurgy of the Phœnicians. They do not appear to have worked in iron or steel, but to have procured those metals from countries where the ore was found, and the metals could be produced under exceptionally favourable circumstances. The Phœnicians, however, were skilful in bronze work, and this was apparently their favourite material. Their talent and experience in this line are frequently praised in the Bible, where are enumerated all the great works in bronze executed by Tyrian workmen for the temple, and for the palace of Solomon. Bronze Phœnician vases are frequently mentioned in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties; and in the historical representations of this period in Egypt, we see enormous vases of this description figuring amongst the tributes brought to the Pharaoh; they were very elegant in form, and modelled with great boldness. Strabo* states that the principal exports of the Canaanitish navigators to the Scilly Isles and Great Britain were, together with pottery, bronze arms, the models, no doubt, of the articles characteristic of the age of bronze in our western lands.

* STRABO III. v. 11.

Cups of precious metal, engraved by the Phœnician silversmiths, are often mentioned in the Homeric poems as evidence of the most refined luxury then known in Greece. Some of these have been found in the Isle of Cyprus, and in Etruria. The Museums, both of the Vatican and Louvre, possess fine specimens. The Odyssey also mentions, as a precious gem, a gold and amber chain, artistically worked by the Sidonians. The Phœnicians were very skilful jewellers; the excavations made a few years ago in the Necropolis of Marathus (Amrit), and of Antaradus (Tortosa), brought several specimens to light, and they give a lofty idea of the skill and taste of the ancient jewellers of Canaan.

We will now speak of the great success of the Phœnicians in the art of ivory carving, mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel. Ivory arrived at Tyre and Sidon by two routes, caravans through Yemen brought supplies from India and the western coast of Africa, and at the same time they received others by way of the Mediterranean, in the vessels trading between Phœnicia and her colonies on the north coast of Africa; for it is known as a positive fact that elephants, instead of being as in our days confined to equatorial regions, then spread over the countries now called Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis. The Phœnicians carved this beautiful material with pre-eminent skill; and none of the countries of Western Asia could rival them in this art, for all articles in ivory which, up to the present time, have been exhumed from the Assyrian palaces, are of Phœnician workmanship.

5. We have already said that Phœnicia was too small a country to support its population, for the most part concentrated in the large towns, and employed in the navy, in commerce, or in manufactures. The rural districts were, however, well peopled, and remarkably well cultivated. Round Tyre, Berytus, and Gebal, excellent wines were grown; those of the Lebanon even then enjoyed the reputation they have preserved to our own days. "Phœnicia," says M. Renan, in one of his reports on the archæological exploration in this country, "is the only country in the world where agricultural industry has left striking ruins. About Tyre these remains of primitive rustic labour are to be met with on every eminence, and always with the same characteristics—immense works cut in the rock; the ruins of square houses, built, in no regular style, of large stones badly fitted; an immense number of cisterns, cellars, vats of extraordinary size, sarcophagi of striking forms. The Phœnicians constructed their fish ponds and wine presses to last for ever; agricultural buildings, so flimsy with us, were constructed on a colossal scale by the Phœnicians."

SECTION V.—LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

1. WE have not to seek here for the cause of the apparent contradiction, that the Phœnicians, though sprung from the race of Ham, spoke a purely Semitic language. This question has been already considered in the First Book of this Manual.* It is certain that the Phœnician idiom differed but slightly, and in no important point, from that of the Hebrews. The identity of grammatical forms and of the vocabulary are so complete between Hebrew and Phœnician, that they cannot be considered as two distinct languages, but merely as two slightly-differing dialects of the same language. The prophet Isaiah attests this when he calls the Hebrew idiom the language of Canaan; amongst the Greek writers, also, the Phœnician and the Hebrew are mentioned as the same.

2. Although we possess but very few monuments of the Phœnician language, those that we have enable us to describe its characteristics with certainty. These monuments consist of about a hundred votive or funereal inscriptions, some of Phœnician, but the greater part are of Carthaginian, origin. Three only of these texts are exceptional in their length, and of these two possess a distinctive literary character. The first is the inscription on the sarcophagus of Esmunazar, king of Sidon, on which the imprecations on those who should violate the grave are written quite in a Biblical style; the second is the recently-discovered inscription of Mesha, king of Moab; the third is a tariff of sacrifices, of Punic origin. Two mutilated copies of this have been discovered, one at Marseilles and one at Carthage.

3. To complete the list of our authorities on the Phœnician language, we must add to these fragments some hundreds of words and proper names, more or less disguised, quoted by Greek and Latin authors. Also, in one of the comedies of Plautus, the "Pœnulus," several Phœnician verses, with the Latin translation following them, are put into the mouth of a Carthaginian. These verses have been much distorted in the manuscripts by ignorant copyists, who did not understand the words; and the efforts of eminent scholars, such as Bochart and Gesenius, have not succeeded as yet in reconstructing the text in a perfectly satisfactory manner. The greater part, however, has been restored, and we find it pure Hebrew.

4. We have no remains of Phœnician literature, although there must have been much of it, and of very ancient origin. Even before the invasion of Joshua, the Canaanites were a literary people. One of their towns in Palestine, Debir, was called also Kirjath Sepher, "the

* Vol. i. p. 71.

city of books." On the Egyptian monuments we find a court poet mentioned among the followers of the king of the Northern Hittites, who fought against Ramses II. at the battle of Kadesh.

The Phœnicians, like the Babylonians with their books of Oannes, and the Egyptians with their books of Thoth, had a written law—books containing their system of cosmogony, the principles of their religion, and their social organisation, laid down as sacred precepts. They also ascribed a divine origin to these books, and regarded them as the work of their god Taaut, identical with the Egyptian Thoth. The respect attached to the written law had even led to its personification in the public worship under the form of a divine being, called Thuro, "the law," and Khusareth, "harmony," his wife.

The various Phœnician cities possessed rich archives and regular records, preserved with care from the most ancient times. We also know that Phœnician literature included other writings on religion and cosmogony besides the canonical and sacred books of Taaut, and also a great number of practical treatises on agriculture and the useful arts.

5. In the time of the successors of Alexander, when the Greeks began to enquire into the history and civilisation of the Asiatic nations whom they had subdued, several writers borrowed, either as translators or imitators, from the national literature of Phœnicia, and at the same time Berosus translated the annals of Babylon, and Manetho those of Egypt. Unfortunately, none of the works of Theodotus, Hypsicrates and Mochus have been preserved to our day, and of these authors we know only the names. We have already made use of the little that has been preserved of the extracts from the Tyrian annals made by Dius, and Menander of Ephesus. But the most valuable and longest fragment of this Greco-Phœnician literature we possess is the translation made by Philo of Byblos, of the book on the system of hierarchy of the gods and on the origin of the world, drawn up, it is said, "about the time of the Trojan war," by a certain Sanchoniathon, of Berytus, and by him dedicated to Abibaal, king of his native town. This fragment has been preserved in the writings of the Christian apologist, Eusebius of Cæsarea.* It breathes a spirit rather belonging to the Alexandrine Greeks than to the old Phœnician writer; there is, therefore, reason to think that the work of Philo of Byblos was an imitation rather than a translation. However, the fragment of Sanchoniathon, such as we have it, is one of the most valuable sources of information on the religion of Phœnicia.

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* *De Evangelica Preparatione*, lib. i.

SECTION VI.—RELIGION.

1. THE religion of the Phœnicians differed from that of the other nations in Syria only in some external forms and minor details, and was closely allied to the popular belief of Babylon and Assyria, embued with the same principles and the same spirit, and evidently sprung from the same original source. Its divine personages in general bore the same names, but were not arranged in such a scientific hierarchy, nor had they assumed so distinct a personality; they were less easily distinguished either from each other, or from the great and only first cause.

As among the Chaldæo-Assyrians, the religious system of the Phœnicians and Syrians was founded on the conception of one universal divine being, whose person was hardly to be distinguished from the material world, which had emanated from his substance without any distinct act of creation. Among the Northern Hittites—the Khitas of the Egyptian monuments—this divine being received the name of Sed, or Set, "the omnipotent," whence was derived the form Sutekh. The Aramæans of Damascus and Bambyce (the Hierapolis of the Greeks, now Kalessi) called him Hadad, "the only one;" the Ammonites, Moloch, "the king;" the Moabites, Chamos, "the governor." Among the Phœnicians and the Canaanitish populations of Palestine he was sometimes called *El*, "the god" *par excellence*, a word similar to the Babylonian Ilu, and sometimes Jaoh, "the being," "the eternal," a name similar to the "Jehovah" of the Hebrews; the two latter appellations, however, were of a mysterious character, and rarely used. The usual name, and the one generally employed, was Baal, "the lord."

2. This Phœnician deity, like those of all ancient pantheisms, was at the same time one and several. He was sub-divided into a number of hypostases, called the *Baalim*, secondary divinities, emanating from and the substance of the deity, and who were merely personifications of his attributes.

This, as we have already seen,* was also the case in the religions of Babylon and Assyria; but the Phœnician differs from them, in that the sub-divisions of the divine power were more frequently geographical or political than philosophical. It was less the divine attributes than the local sanctuaries that gave birth to these secondary gods, these Baalim, eponyms of the principal towns and of certain localities. Baal worshipped at Tyre, Sidon, Tarsus, on Mount Hermon, on Mount Pisgah, became in this way Baal-Tsur, Baal-Sidon, Baal-Tars, Baal-Hermon, Baal-Pisgah. "In this way," justly observes the Comte de Vogüé, "he

* Vol. i. pp. 452—497.

could receive a particular name, thus completing the disguise of his primitive character in the popular mind, but still not entirely excluding a confused idea of the original unity of the deity." This clearly appears in an inscription; Melkarth, the great god of Tyre, whose worship was spread abroad by the Tyrian colonies, was no other than the Baal of the metropolis. "To the lord Melkarth, Baal of Tyre," says a dedicatory inscription in the island of Malta. The supreme god is considered as a local divinity, the special protector of a town, an idea in complete accordance with the etymology of the name, *Melkarth*, an abbreviation of *Melek Kiryath*, "king of the city."

Such a system bears the stamp of the essentially federal constitution of the Canaanites, and the spirit of localism that characterises all their institutions.

3. But these secondary personifications, the Baalim, had not all of them this geographical or political origin; for as, at Babylon, a large number represented the attributes and qualities of the divine being, and the phenomena by which he was supposed to manifest himself. This divine being, the primordial Baal, was, as we have just said, almost identified with the material world. He was superlatively a nature-god, operating in the universe, and in physical life, each year destroying his work, to renew it afresh with the change of seasons; and these successive operations of destruction and renewal, in consequence of the pantheistic conception of his essence, he was regarded as producing, not in a world created by him, but in his own proper person, by a reaction on himself. A particular sacred name, and a distinct hypostasis, corresponded to each phase of these operations, becoming, in its external form, a special personification of a secondary order. The supreme god, considered as the progenitor of different beings, became Baal-Thammuz, called also Adon, "the lord," whence the Grecian Adonis; as a preserver, he was Baal-Chon; as a destroyer, Baal-Moloch; as presiding over the decomposition of those destroyed beings whence new life was again to spring, Baal-Zebub.

Like the Babylonians, the Phœnicians were in very early times addicted to the study of astronomy, and, struck by the wonders of the starry heavens and the active part played by the sun in vegetable phenomena, they ended by ascribing every operation in nature to the influence of the stars, and especially of the most brilliant among them. They did what God had wished to prevent the Hebrews from doing, when He forbid them to gaze too much on the stars; they worshipped them, and not as the most striking manifestation of divine power, but as the divinity himself. Baal then became a solar god, and as such was specially Baal-Samim, "Baal of the heavens." All the Baalim possessed this characteristic; but it was most marked in Thammuz or Adonis, the special god of the city, and of the mysteries of Gebal.

This famous personage, who to the Greeks was but a simple Syrian hunter, was to the Phœnicians the sun-god himself. In the spring season of each year he was supposed to die, to be again born in the course of natural phenomena, when the smiling vegetation of the beginning of the year is burnt up by the heat of summer, or destroyed by the cold of winter; his rites were, therefore, celebrated with symbols of mourning.

The seven planets were also considered as special Baalim, and worshipped under the generic name of Çabirim, or "powerful ones." They were eight in number, although only seven planetary bodies were then known; but the eighth, Esmun, invisible to mortal eyes, was supposed to be the connecting link of the seven others, the one approaching nearest to the primordial Baal. He personified the whole of the sidereal system, and was supposed to preside over the laws and harmony of the universe, and in this respect was the same as Taaut, the legislator.

4. The Phœnician religion even went beyond this purely sidereal view of the order of nature. Its divine personages are marked by a more general physical conception. The element of fire was considered, in its most extended acceptation, as the principle of life, the source of all activity, of all renewal, and of all destruction. The solar or sidereal gods are essentially fire-gods. This clearly appears in Baal-Moloch, and his worship, in which fire played so great a part. To the same order of conceptions belonged Baal-Hamon, "burning Baal," the national god of Carthage; another divine personage of the secondary order, Resheph, "the thunder-bolt," the celestial fire, and Adar, and the principal god of Assyria, whom we have already mentioned in our book on Assyria.*

Melkarth was adored in the great temple at Tyre under the form of a luminous stone, symbolising this idea, as did also the god Katsiu ("the aërolite") of the Aramæans of Hauran. These latter personifications form, in the Tyro-Phœnician mythology, a link between the fire-gods and the gods who were worshipped under the form of a stone, most frequently of a stone fallen from heaven. These sacred stones were called Beth-el (whence the Greek bætyle), "dwelling of the god," because the divine essence was supposed to dwell in them. Certain mountains, trees, and springs had the same divine and sacred character attributed to them, and were also worshipped.

5. But the nature-god of the pantheistic religions was an essentially complex being. As both the cause and the prototype of the visible world, he had a double aspect; he was supposed to contain within himself all that was necessary to reproduction, all that in terrestrial generation con-

* Vol. i. p. 455.

stitute both the active and the passive principles, the male and female; and thus to be a duality in unity; and this conception, when the varied symbols employed to represent it became separated, gave rise to the worship of female divinities. A goddess, in the religious inscriptions of Phœnicia, is described as the "manifestation" of the male god to whom she corresponds. She does not differ from him essentially, and is but the subjective form of the primitive divinity, a second divine person, sufficiently distinct from the first to be conjugally associated with him, but still no other than the divinity himself in a new external manifestation.

This general conception of a female deity was, like that of a male divinity, subdivided into a number of local personifications. To each secondary Baal there was a corresponding female Baal, or Baalath, who represented the same god regarded under another aspect. Each of these couples formed a complete unity, the reproduction, in a lower hierarchy, of the primitive unity. But when Baal was a solar, Baalath was a lunar deity; when one presided over day, the other governed night; when one personified the active elements—fire and air, the latter personified the passive—water and earth.

We know but a small number of the divine couples of the Phœnician religion. At Sidon, we know it was Baal-Sidon and Ashtaroth; at Gebal, Thammuz and Baalath (the *Beltis* of Greek authors); at Carthage, Baal-Hamon and Tanith; among the northern Hittites, Shed and Shedath; among the Aramæans of Damascus and Bambyce, Hadad and Atargath; among other tribes, Resheph and Anath.

In the Syro-Phœnician religions, the female personages in general were still less distinct from each other than the male; they had a more general and comprehensive physiognomy, representing phenomena or natural bodies. Two classes, however, may be distinguished—those representing the earth and terrestrial phenomena, and those representing the stars, such as the Moon or the planet Venus. The Baalath of Gebal, and the Atargath of Bambyce, belong to the former category, and seem to have resembled the Phrygian Cybele. The Ashtaroth of Sidon, however, appears to have been purely sidereal.

6. From this short account of the religious system of the Phœnicians, it will be understood how well it has been defined by the learned Movers, who has scientifically studied the subject; "an apotheosis of the forces and laws of nature, an adoration of the objects in which these forces were seen, and where they appeared most active." Round this religious system gathered, in the external and public worship, a host of frightful debaucheries, orgies, and prostitutions, in honour of the deities, such as we have already described at Babylon,* and which accompanied

* Vol. i., p. 499.

all the naturalistic religions of antiquity. The Canaanites were remarkable for the atrocious cruelty that stamped all the ceremonies of their worship, and the precepts of their religion. No other people ever rivalled them in the mixture of bloodshed and debauchery, with which they thought to honour the deity. As the celebrated Creuzer has said: "Terror was the inherent principle of this religion; all its rites were blood stained, and all its ceremonies were surrounded by gloomy images. When we consider the abstinences, the voluntary tortures, and, above all, the horrible sacrifices imposed as a duty on the living, we no longer wonder that they envied the repose of the dead. This religion silenced all the best feelings of human nature, degraded men's minds by a superstition alternately cruel and profligate, and we may seek in vain for any influence for good it could have exercised on the nation."

The most frightful of all the rites of the Phœnician religion was the sacrifice in honour of Baal-Moloch, when children were burnt alive by their own parents, either, as they supposed, to reunite them to the divinity or to appease his anger. This terrible custom originated in the conception of the deity as a fire-god; and from this, fire itself was in time regarded as a divinity. The Phœnicians carried this practice with them to their colonies, specially to Carthage, where this rite took rank as one of the institutions of the state. We also know that these odious sacrifices were followed by feasts in which deep sorrow and frantic joy alternated. Funereal ceremonies, intermixed with monstrous orgies, were the characteristics of the mystic feasts of Thammuz or Adonis, which were celebrated with so much splendour at Gebal and in the Lebanon; and this was the cause of the vehement and inspired invectives of the Hebrew prophets against these Sodoms of Phœnicia.

The religion, and especially the forms of worship, of any nation always bear the imprint of the moral feeling of the people; and, as we might expect, the moral portrait of the Phœnicians left us by writers of antiquity is not flattering: they are described as both unruly and servile, gloomy and cruel, corrupt and ferocious, selfish and covetous, implacable and faithless. It seems as though the spirit of their religion conspired with their commercial and mercantile life to close their hearts to all generous emotions, and to every elevated sentiment. However expert and clever they may have been in their every-day business, in morality they were always the true descendants of that son who was specially mentioned in the general malediction on the sons of Ham.

7. The Phœnician religion was from a very remote epoch propagated by the navigators of Sidon and Tyre. Crete, Cyprus, and nearly all the islands along the coasts of Asia Minor present manifest traces of its influences. In Crete, the Minotaur, the devourer of children, and Talus, the heated giant of bronze, who, as it was said, destroyed

foreigners, represent merely the tradition of Baal-Moloch, and the horrible sacrifices in his honour. Cyprus and Cythera had received from the Sidonians the religion of the Syro-Phœnician nature-goddess, the Ashtaroth of Sidon, who, under the name of Aphrodite, was worshipped in Greece and on the shores of Italy, with the surnames of Cyprus and Cytherea. There was a temple and a colossal statue dedicated to the Sun at Rhodes; and there Saturn, in imitation of the Phœnician Baal, with whom he was identified by the Greeks, claimed human victims. The Cabiri of Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace also belonged to the religious system of the Canaanites. In the Ægæan Sea, Thasos was celebrated for its temple dedicated to the Tyrian Hercules—that is, to Melkarth.

SECTION VII.—COSMOGONY.

1. THE Phœnician priests taught a system of materialistic and pantheistic cosmogony closely resembling that of the Babylonians. It was explained in the sacred books we have already mentioned, and on great steles designed for popular instruction, and placed in almost every temple. The fundamental facts of this cosmogony were everywhere alike; but the forms and the names of the personages (abstract in their first conception) named, varied in the different sanctuaries and towns in the same way as did the names of the deities. Though founded on a common basis, the Phœnician religion in all externals had an essentially local character.

The fragments of Sanchoniathon have given us an abridged analysis of some of these cosmogonies; under all their varied forms, they always contained the same essential elements. Unfortunately, the origin of each is not indicated; and, instead of being carefully distinguished, they have been so mixed up one with the other, either by Philo of Byblos himself, or by Eusebius, the author of the only extracts that have come down to us, that the result is a perfect chaos, in which it seems at first sight impossible to restore order; but a more attentive examination enables us with some degree of accuracy to separate these various traditions.

2. We will now proceed to the most important of the cosmogonies that are collected in the book of Sanchoniathon. The characteristics at the close seem to indicate that it was borrowed from Sidon. In comparing it with the Babylonian cosmogony of Berosus, and that of the different Arian nations quoted in the first chapter of the history of the Persians, the analogy is striking between the teaching of all Pagan religions as to the origin of the world. From a desire to escape from the

acknowledgment of the creative act, by which the Almighty formed the universe from nothing, all these religious systems without exception fell into the same serious errors.

"The beginning of all things was a dark and condensed windy air, or a breeze of thick air, and a chaos, turbid and black as Erebus; and these were unbounded, and for a long series of ages destitute of form. But when this wind became enamoured of its own first principles (the chaos), an intimate union took place, that connection was called Pothos; and it was the beginning of the creation of all things. And it (the chaos) knew not its own production; but from its embrace with the wind was generated Mot, which some call Ilus (Mud), but others, the putrefaction of a watery mixture. And from this sprung all the seed of the creation and the generation of the universe.

"And there were certain animals without sensation, from which intelligent animals were produced, and these were called Zophasemim—that is, the overseers of the heavens—and they were formed in the shape of an egg; and from Mot shone forth the sun and the moon, the less and the greater stars.

"And when the air began to send forth light, by its fiery influence on the sea and earth, winds were produced, and clouds, and very great defluxions and torrents of the heavenly waters. And when they were thus separated and carried out of their proper places by the heat of the sun, and all met again in the air, and were dashed against each other, thunder and lightnings were the result; and at the sound of the thunder, the before mentioned intelligent animals were aroused, and startled by the noise, moved upon the earth and in the sea, male and female. . . .

"Of the wind, Colpias, and his wife, Baau, which is interpreted Night, were begotten two mortal men, Æon and Protogonos so called; and Æon discovered food from trees.

"The immediate descendants of these were Genus and Genea, and they dwelt in Phœnicia; and when there were great draughts they stretched forth their hands to heaven towards the sun; for him they supposed to be God, the only Lord of heaven, calling him Baalsamim, which, in the Phœnician dialect, signifies Lord of Heaven, but among the Greeks is equivalent to Zeus.

"Afterwards, by Genus, the son of Æon and Protogonos, were begotten mortal children, whose names were Phos, Pur, and Phlox [Light, Fire, Flame]. These found out the method of producing fire by rubbing pieces of wood against each other, and taught men the use thereof.

"These begat sons of vast bulk and height, whose names were conferred upon the mountains which they occupied; thus, from them Capius, and Libanus, and Antilibanus, and Brathu, received their names.

"Memrumus and Hypsuranius were the issue of these men. . . . Hypsuranius inhabited Tyre . . . and he fell into enmity with his brother Usous, who was the inventor of clothing for the body, which he made of the skins of the wild beasts which he could catch. And when there were violent storms of rain and wind, the trees about Tyre took fire. . . . And Usous, having taken a tree and broken off its boughs, was the first who dared to venture on the sea."

The origin of man, and particularly, as might be expected, of the Phœnician race, and the invention of useful arts, were treated of in this cosmogony, which assumed the principle of the eternity of matter, and attributes everything to spontaneous emanation. Another fragment, seemingly from Gebal, following the preceding in the extracts of Sanchoniathon, speaks of the question of the origin of the human race, only the account of the formation of the universe is omitted, doubtless because this portion was identical with the cosmogony of Sidon.

"By these were begotten others, of whom one was named Agrus, the other Agronerus or Agrotus (Shed, the all powerful). . . . At Byblus he is called, by way of eminence, the greatest of the gods. These added to the houses, courts, porticoes, and crypts; husbandmen, and such as hunt with dogs, derive their origin from these: they are called also Aletæ (Elim) and Titans (Rephaim).

"From these were descended Amynus (?) and Magus (?), who taught men to construct villages and tend flocks.

"By these were begotten Misor (the Egyptian) and Sydyc—that is, Well-freed and Just. . . . From Misor descended Taaut, who invented the writing of the first letters. . . . But from Sydic descended the Cabiri . . . these first built a ship complete."

Here again, as in the preceding account, the origin of man is placed at the end of the series of emanations, following a number of divine personages personifying the various inventions which seemed to them necessary for the existence of mankind.

3. The ideas set forth in the great Sidonian cosmogony we have already quoted, are explained, in a third account attached to the other two in the extracts from Sanchoniathon, but, in this instance, under an entirely theogonic form, as successive generations of personal and anthropomorphous gods. This, however, is plainly but a mutilated skeleton, often disfigured by the introduction of portions of a sort of religious epic poem, similar to that composed by Hesiod for the Greeks. We cannot, moreover, always supply the true Phœnician form for the divine names given under their Greek equivalent by Philo of Byblos. However, this theogonic account, apparently also borrowed from the mystical teachings of the priests at Gebal, is so valuable even in its altered condition, that we reproduce it here in the form in which we have it.

"Then was one Eliun, called Hypsistus (the Most High), and his wife, named Beruth, and they dwelt about Byblus.

"By these was begotten Epigeus, or Autochthon, whom they afterwards called Ouranus (heaven). . . . But Ouranus succeeding to the kingdom of his father, contracted a marriage with his sister Ge, and had by her four sons, Ilus (El) who is called Cronus, and Betylus (Beth El), and Dagon, which signifies Siton (Bread Corn), and Atlas (Tammuz ?).

"But by other wives Ouranus had much issue; at which Ge, being vexed and jealous of Ouranus, reproached him, so that they parted from each other . . . . he attempted, also, to kill the children whom he had by her . . . .

"But when Cronus (El) arrived at man's estate, acting with the advice and by the assistance of Hermes Trismegistus (who was his scribe), he opposed himself to his father Ouranus . . . .

"And to Cronus were born children, Persephone and Athena [*Tanith*]; the former of whom died a virgin; but, by the advice of Athena and Hermes, Cronus made a scimitar and a spear of iron. Then Hermes addressed the allies of Cronus with magic words, and wrought in them a keen desire to make war against Ouranus in behalf of Ge. And Cronus, having thus overcome Ouranus in battle, drove him from his kingdom, and succeeded him in the imperial power.

"In the battle was taken a well-beloved concubine of Ouranus; and Cronus bestowed her in marriage upon Dagon, and whilst she was with him she was delivered of the child she had conceived by Ouranus, and called his name Demarous [*Baal-Tamar*].

"After these events, Cronus surrounded his habitation with a wall, and founded Byblos, the first city of Phœnicia. Afterwards, Cronus having conceived a suspicion of his own brother Atlas [Tammuz ?], by the advice of Hermes threw him into a deep cavern in the earth and buried him.

"At this time the descendants of the Dioscuri (Cabiri), having built some light and other more complete ships, put to sea; and being cast away over against Mount Casius, then constructed a temple. . . . And Cronus, having a son called Sadid, despatched him with his own sword, ... and in like manner he cut off the head of his own daughter. . . .

"But in process of time, whilst Ouranus was still in banishment, he sent his daughters, Astarte (Ashtoreth), Rhea (Atargatis), and Dione (Baalath), and afterwards Einarmene and Hora, to make war with Cronus; but Cronus gained the affections of these, and detained them with himself. Moreover, the god Ouranus devised Bætulia, contriving stones that moved as having life (which were supposed to fall from heaven).

"And by Astarte Cronus had seven daughters, called Titanides or Artemides; by Rhea, also, he had seven sons, the youngest of whom was consecrated from his birth; also, by Dione he had daughters; and by Astarte again he had two other sons, Pothos (Chephets) and Eros.

"And Dagon, after he had found out bread-corn and the plough, was called Zeus Arotrius.

"To Sydyc, who was called the just, one of the Titanides bare Asclepius (Esmun), and to Cronus then were born also, in Peræa, three sons, Cronus bearing the same name with his father, and Zeus Belus (Baal) and Apollo (Baal-Samim ?)

"Contemporary with these were Pontus, and Typhon, and Nereus, the father of Pontus; from Pontus descended Sidon, who, by the excellence of her singing, first invented the hymns or odes of praise, and Poseidon.

"But to Demarous was born Melicarthus, who is also called Heracles . . . .

"Ilus, who is Cronus, laid an ambuscade for his father Ouranus . . . and dismembered him over against the fountains and rivers . . . and the blood flowed into the fountains and the waters of the rivers . . . .

"But Astarte, called the greatest, and Demarous, named Zeus (Baal-Tamar), and Adodus (Hadad), king of the gods, reigned over the country by the consent of Cronus: and Astarte put upon her head, as the mark of her sovereignty, a bull's head; and travelling about the habitable world, she found a star falling through the air, which she took up and consecrated in the holy island of Tyre.

"Moreover Cronus visiting the different regions of the habitable world, gave to his daughter Athena the kingdom of Attica" [this is clearly an interpolation of the Greeks], "and when there happened a plague with a great mortality, Cronus offered up his only-begotten son, as a sacrifice to his father Ouranos; and circumcised himself, and compelled his allies to do the same. . . .

"After these things, Cronus gave the city of Byblus to the goddess Baaltis, which is Dione, and Berytus to Poseidon and to the Cabiri . . .

"The god Taaut, having pourtrayed Ouranos, represented also the countenances of the gods Cronus and Dagon, and the sacred characters of the elements. He contrived also for Cronus the ensign of his royal power. . . . .

"And Cronus, visiting the South, gave all Egypt to the god Taaut, that it might be his kingdom.

"These things the Cabiri, the seven sons of Sydyc, and their eighth brother, Asclepius (Esmun), first of all set down in their records in obedience to the commands of the god Taaut. . . . . and they delivered them to their successors and to foreigners: of whom one was Isiris

(Osiris), the inventor of the three letters, the brother of Chna, who is called the first Phœnician."*

SECTION VIII.—ARTS AND MONUMENTS.

1. "The distinguishing mark of Phœnician architecture," says M. Renan, "is its massive and imposing strength, a want, indeed, of finish in details, but a general effect of power and grandeur. In short it is a monolithic art." The few Phœnician buildings of which ruins yet remain, are built of immense stones. The most striking examples are the ramparts of the town of Aradus, the foundations of the temple at Jerusalem, executed for Solomon by Phœnician architects and masons, and the earlier portions of the great temple at Baalbec. The Phœnician temples—if we may judge from the ruins of that of Venus at Paphos, in the isle of Cyprus, those of the sanctuaries of Malta and Gozo, still in sufficiently good preservation, and bearing the names of Casal-Krendi and the Giganteja, from the Biblical description of Solomon's temple, built according to the principles of Phœnician architecture, and also by what certain classical authors tell us of the temple of Melkarth at Tyre—were of small dimensions, but surrounded by a vast enclosure, or *temenos*, forming open air courts, sometimes double, like that at Jerusalem, and often also ornamented by porticoes of wood. This also was the type of the temples of Aramæa, that, for example, of Bambyce or Hierapolis, of which a description is given by Lucian,† and the ruins of which a French traveller, M. Guillaume Rey, has recently explored.

The temple, properly so called, placed in the centre of the temenos, was generally built after the model of the Egyptian sanctuaries. It was an open vestibule in a façade or pylon, much higher than the rest of the building; there was first a sanctuary, where were made the oblations, and then a second sanctuary, more retired, a Holy of Holies, where the laity and even the majority of the priests were not allowed to enter. Waiting rooms were placed all round. This was the arrangement of the temple at Tyre, of the one, traces of which have been found at Paphos, and also at Jerusalem. Only in the temple of Jehovah, the Holy of Holies contained nothing but the ark of the covenant; in the Phœnician temples the most mysterious and sacred images of the divinity were in the Holy of Holies, not anthropomorphic statues, but simple stones or *bætylia*. In the sanctuary of Melkarth at Tyre, it was

* EUSEBIUS, *De Præp. Evan.*, lib. i. CORY, *Ancient Fragments*, London, 1832.

† *De Syria Dea*, 13.

said to be a gigantic emerald, and its brilliancy symbolised the nature of the fire-god; it was believed to be the star fallen from heaven, and picked up by Ashtoreth; at Paphos, the stone representing Ashtoreth was of a conical form.

The sanctuaries in the islands of Malta and Gozo are of another and more original type, although with the same essential parts. They are composed of two halls, one behind the other, in the shape of an elongated parallelogram with rounded extremities, forming the one a vestibule, the other a sanctuary, and communicating by a narrow passage. Facing this passage, at the extreme end of the sanctuary, was a semicircular recess, very lofty, and at one time separated from the rest of the temple by a barrier. This was the Holy of Holies, and at Gigantcja the conical stone that, as at Paphos, was the emblem of the nature-goddess, was found in it.

We cannot here enter on an explanation of the brutal and obscene symbolism, that was the origin of this representation of the divinity by a conical stone. But there are other similar monuments, peculiar to Syro-Phœnician architecture, and of a type not found either in Egypt or Assyria. We speak of those enormous stone cylinders, almost invariably monoliths, terminated at the summit by a cone or a rounded cap. The Arabs of our days call them *mughazil*. Two monoliths of this kind were placed, like the Egyptian obelisks, before the door of the temple of Atargatis, at Bambyce. Probably there were some also at the temple of Melkarth, at Tyre, for in the temple of Jerusalem (an exact reproduction of its arrangements), in order to efface all vestiges of a symbolism so contrary to the spirit of the worship of Jehovah, they were replaced by the two columns with bronze capitals, Jachin and Boaz. Three monoliths of the same type are still to be seen among the ruins of Marothus (Amrit), where they are attached to tombs. Finally, the same conical form has been substituted for that of the pyramid in the numerous constructions in Sardinia, called *nuraghes*, and in the Balearic Isles, *talayots*—two countries colonised by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians—constructions apparently designed, like the Assyrian *zikurat*, for the observation of the stars, which were the objects of popular worship, and considered as among the chief of the *Baalim*.

3. Nothing remains of Gebal, Sidon, and Tyre, those great Phœnician cities, but the burial places. The tombs there are nearly all subterranean, pierced in the rock like those of Egypt; they are generally formed of one or more chambers, in the walls of which are pierced oven-like recesses, where, enclosed in coffins, were placed the embalmed corpses. These tombs usually served for a whole family, and sometimes the body of some distinguished person has been deposited in a sarcophagus in the middle of the chamber.

No nation ever constructed tombs with so much grandeur and originality of design as the Phœnicians. Unfortunately the caves have nearly all been despoiled of the articles they contained, from which we might have obtained such valuable information as to the most artistic civilisation of antiquity. The remains of these monuments themselves are disappearing every day in consequence of the depredations of treasure seekers, and that puerile and barbarous instinct that leads the Syrian of our days to destroy everything that he does not understand.

4. Although the Phœnicians did not usually place statues in the sanctuaries of their temples, they had numerous idols, especially for private worship. They also dedicated votive statues in the temples, and these were placed particularly in the courts. Some fragments of statues of this kind, and some sarcophagi, in shape like the Egyptian, are all that remain to us of Phœnician sculpture. The museums of Europe, however, are gradually acquiring a tolerably large collection of statues of stone, baked earth, and bronze, mostly representations of divinities. An exact idea of the state of the plastic arts among the maritime Canaanites may now easily be formed by the examination of these statuettes; of the engraved stones, mostly scarabei, obtained of late years in great abundance from the burial places of Phœnicia, and of some Phœnician colonies, such as Sardinia; of the goldsmiths' work and jewelry, discovered in the same tombs; and last, but not least, of the Phœnician ivories, discovered in the ruins of the Assyrian palaces.

These works of art are, as regards workmanship, in strange contrast. Many of the statuettes and engraved stones are of extreme delicacy, and denote marvellous artistic skill; on the other hand, some of the stone, baked earth, and bronze idols are executed in the coarsest manner. Evidently each house in Phœnicia was furnished with idols of its own, and as those made by skilful artists cost a large price, they also manufactured on a large scale, both for the populace and for exportation, images much on a par with our gingerbread figures sold at fairs. We must remark, however, that these rude statuettes are found much more rarely in Phœnicia itself, than in the foreign countries colonised by Phœnicians, for example, in Sardinia and in the islands of the Archipelago. We may therefore consider them rather as idols manufactured by the still semi-barbarous inhabitants of those countries after Phœnician models, than as works of the Phœnicians themselves.

Moreover, an opinion of the degree of excellence attained by the Phœnicians in art can be formed only from specimens which are evidently the work of artists, and not from the productions of inferior workmen, destined only for commercial purposes.

5. The Comte de Vogüé has admirably defined the character of the plastic arts among the Phœnicians. "It is," says he, "a peculiar and distinct art; its character is neither Egyptian, for that, invariably

hieratic, is easily recognised, nor yet Assyrian, better known now day by day; still less is it Grecian, which was not introduced into Syria till the time of the Seleucidæ; but for all that it is far from being original, and is clearly an imitation and combination of the two former. It is the work of a people who, though distinct from the Assyrians and Egyptians, has, by mutual relations, or by the force of war and circumstances, been influenced by both those nations to such a degree as partly to adopt their symbols, their architectural forms, and their costume." It will be seen how exactly these remarks on Phœnician art agree with what we have seen of their history, their geographical situation between the Assyrian and Egyptian empires, and with the intimate commercial relations that made them the brokers and merchants of these two great nations. A mixture of these two styles, Assyrian and Egyptian, is therefore the invariable characteristic of Phœnician art, and sometimes one, sometimes the other, predominates.

The study of these monuments is not yet sufficiently advanced to allow of a chronological classification, but it is probable that the predominance of either style corresponds with the alternations of supremacy between Egypt and Assyria.

However this may be, although the influence of either country may be clearly exhibited, the other style is never quite eliminated; and this mixture of styles constitutes the originality of Phœnician art. The [illegible] common to both countries, the religious symbols, the emblematic monsters, the sacred images, both of the Nile and of the Euphrates, are assembled on the same monuments. New combinations of a hybrid nature are the result of this union. Two civilisations of different kinds mingle in the works of Phœnician art, just as the manufactures of both countries met at the same time in the markets of Tyre and Sidon.

In general, the common forms, the majority of symbols and ornaments employed, the costumes of the figures, are Egyptian. The influence of the land of the Pharaohs was earliest brought to bear on Phœnicia, and left ineffaceable traces. The Phœnician priests, even at Gades, wore an entirely Egyptian costume. At Gebal, Osiris and Isis were worshipped, as well as Thammuz and Baalath, and the legends of the two religions were at last combined. But the spirit and the execution of works of art were not Egyptian, but entirely Assyrian, and reveal a natural aptitude among the Phœnician artists for the Assyrian style. Instead of dealing with great masses and in colossal proportions, like the Egyptians, the Phœnicians are at least as much given to detail as the Assyrians. They too strive to render every curl of the hair, every muscle of the body, every fringe of the garments; and in these attempts to reproduce the smallest details, they show even more skill than the Assyrians, and seem to have had more command of the tools. In

sculpturing thin slabs especially, they surpass all Asiatic nations, and the Greeks alone have equalled the delicacy of their execution.

From this resulted the peculiarity of these works of art; the Egyptian forms are indeed preserved, but they are rendered with quite a different spirit from that of the native Egyptian works. The sarcophagi, of which two fine specimens are in the Museum of the Louvre, may be taken as types of this kind. Their general shape is that of mummy cases and Egyptian sarcophagi of the Saite dynasty, but the type of the head is not Egyptian; the style is *sui generis*, and more resembles that of the primitive Greek statues.

6. It is designedly that we point out this latter analogy. Phœnician art exercised a great influence over the first attempts of Grecian sculptors. Among the works of the archaic epoch found in Greece, and all resulting from the teaching of Asiatic schools, there are some hardly distinguishable from Phœnician works, whilst others are almost completely Assyrian, and show no traces of the Egyptian influence always conspicuous at Tyre and Sidon.

"When the Greeks came in contact with the Assyrians, and with the Phœnicians, their neighbours," says M. de Longpérier, "the Pelasgi and the Hellenes had still to learn the first steps in art, and it was natural that they should be influenced by the practice of more highly educated and experienced people." All the first art productions among the Greeks have an entirely Asiatic character. The anatomy of the sculptured figures in the metopes of the temple of Silenus reveals an Assyro-Phœnician influence precisely because some of the details are conventional and not studied from nature. When compared with some figures in the Assyrian palace at Khorsabad, the ancient Attic bas-relief, known under the name of the *Warrior of Marathon*, is strikingly like in detail; the eyes, the hair, the beard, the muscles, are all treated in the same way.*

The influence of Asia on the dawn of the arts and civilisation of Greece was exercised through two channels, distinct from each other; one through Asia Minor, the other through Phœnicia. The first was by means of the cities of the Ionian coast, and particularly affected the Ionian populations, principally in Athens. The second was the effect of the maritime commerce, and commenced with Crete and the southern isles of the Ægæan Sea, colonised by the Dorians, whence it spread to the Peloponnesus, Sicily, and the whole Dorian race. This, to confine ourselves entirely to the subject of the arts, was the cause of the

* See on this subject the preface to the third edition of the "*Notice des Antiquités assyriennes du Musée du Louvre*, by M. de Longpérier, Paris, 1854; and also, by the same author, a treatise, "*De quelques Monuments des Arts asiatiques récemments entrés dans les collections du Louvre.* Paris, 1856.

original difference between the Ionian and Dorian schools. The former, under the influence of the teaching of Asia Minor, followed Assyrian art without the mixture of any other element; and the proof of this is to be seen in the old Athenian sculptures, and the statues of sitting women, bordering the avenue of the temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, near Miletus, now in the British Museum. The latter followed Phœnician art. The places where are commonly found articles which it would be impossible to say with certainty whether they were manufactured in Phœnicia, or only after Phœnician models—Rhodes, Thera, Melos, Corinth—are Dorian countries, habitually frequented by the Canaanitish navigators. The most ancient Dorian statues known, the statues of Apollo, found at Tenea, near Corinth, at Thera, at Megara, at Argos, at Orchomenos, present a mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian styles, the general forms being peculiarly Egyptian, though the execution is purely Asiatic, and characteristic, as we have said, of Phœnician art.

The resemblance between Etruscan monuments and those now daily found in the East reveal also an Assyro-Phœnician origin.

Thus at each step made by science, the power and extent of Eastern civilisation, and its influence on that of Europe, is more and more clearly seen; and the education of the human race distinctly appears to be the work of tradition, modified and developed by time.

CHAPTER V.

CARTHAGE—ORIGIN AND FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF ITS POWER.

Chief Authorities:—

Classical Writers:—Herodotus, Book IV.—Sallust, *The First Chapters of the Jugurthine War.*—Justin, Book XVII., "The Periplus of Hanno."—Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima.*

Modern Writers:—Heeren, *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity* (English translation).—Münter, *Religion der Karthäger.* Copenhagen, 1821.—Creuzer, *Religions de l'Antiquité,* liv. iv., ch. vii.—D'Avezac, *Afrique Ancienne.* Paris, 1844.—Dureau de la Mulle, *Carthage.* Paris, 1844.—Beulé, *Feuilles à Carthage.* Paris, 1858.—Davis, *Carthage and its Remains.* London, 1862.

SECTION I.—THE NATIONS OF NORTHERN AFRICA.

1. THE importance of Carthage at the epoch embraced in this Manual requires a special chapter for its history, apart from that of the other Phœnician colonies.

In its geographical situation, Carthage belonged to Africa and the

West, but its manners, its language, and the origin of its inhabitants attached it to Asia and the East. It was the extreme outpost of the Asiatic world in the western part of the Mediterranean, and through it the Eastern civilisation was diffused, earlier than that of Greece and Rome, through Africa, Gaul, Spain, and even the British Isles.

But before sketching the history of Carthage up to the date of the Median wars, we must say a few words as to the populations among whom the city was built, and over whom it afterwards reigned. Unfortunately, the annals of these nations have perished, and it is with great difficulty that modern science has succeeded in establishing even a few positive facts.

2. The name of Africa was applied by the ancients only to that small portion of the country south of Cape Bon, the rest was called Libya. The bulk of the population of the northern coast, between Egypt and the Pillars of Hercules, was of the Hamitic race of Phut, who were connected with the Egyptians and Ethiopians, and to whom the name of Libyans was not applied until a later date, as this name was originally confined to some tribes of Arian or Japhetic race, who had settled among the natives. From these nations sprung from Phut, descended the races now called Berbers, who have spread over the north of Africa, from the northernmost valleys of the Atlas to the southern limits of the Sahara, and from Egypt to the Atlantic; perhaps even to the Canaries, where the ancient Guanches seem to have spoken a dialect nearly approaching that of the Berbers of Morocco. These Berbers—now called *Amazigh*, or *Shuluh*, in Morocco; *Kabyles*, in the three provinces of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli; *Tibboos*, between Fezzan and Egypt; and *Tuariks* in the Sahara—are the descendants of the same great family of nations whose blood, more or less pure, still runs in the veins of the tribes inhabiting the different parts of the vast territory once possessed by their ancestors. The language they still speak, known through the labours of learned officers of the French army in Africa, is nearly related to that of Ancient Egypt. It is that in which the few inscriptions we possess, emanating from the natives of Libya, Numidia, and Mauritania in olden times, are written. The alphabet peculiar to these natives, whilst under the Carthaginian rule, is still used by the Tuariks.

3. Sallust, who was able to consult the archives of Carthage, and who seems more accurate than any other classical writer on African history, was acquainted with the annals of the primitive period, anterior to the arrival of the Arian tribes and the settlement of the Phœnician colonies. Then only three races, unequally distributed in a triple zone, were to be met with throughout Northern Africa. Along the shore bordering the Mediterranean were the primitive Libyans, who were Hamites, descendants of Phut; behind them, towards the interior, but

on the western half only, were the Getulians, who seem also to have belonged to the Berber race, and to have formed a special branch; further still in the interior, and beyond the Sahara, were the negroes, originally called by the Greek name, "Ethiopians," which was afterwards erroneously applied to the Cushites of the Upper Nile. Sallust also learnt, from the Carthaginian traditions, of the great Japhetic invasion of the coast of Africa. These invaders he believed to have been Persians, Medes, and Armenians,* commanded by Hercules; thus clearly proving that he knew their Arian origin. The Egyptian monuments have acquainted us with the date of the arrival of these Indo-Europeans in Africa, among whom were the Libyans, properly so called, the Maxyans, and Macæ. It was contemporary with the reigns of Seti I. and Ramses II., and, as we have already seen,† seriously threatened the security of Egypt. We will not again repeat events we have already related at length. It will be sufficient to indicate the considerable changes produced by them in the populations of the ancient country of the descendants of Phut, changes carefully noted by Sallust. The nations of the interior, Getulians and negroes, remained intact on their territory; but new tribes effected settlements on the sea-coast. The Mauri, sprung from the mixture of the Arian tribes—the Medes and Armenians of Sallust—with the original inhabitants, henceforth possessed the country nearest Spain; the Numidians, offspring of the fusion of another Arian tribe—the Persians of the Roman historian—with the Getulians, conquered the provinces bordering on the Sardo-Tyrrhenian sea, the Libyans, properly so called; the Maxyans and Macæ settled along the Syrtes, and in the neighbourhood of Lake Triton; the eastern shore alone remained in possession of the old Hamitic tribes.

A last change took place about a century after the arrival of the Japhetic tribes. This was the establishment of the Canaanitish colonists, fugitives from Palestine, who settled in Zeugitana and Africa proper, where, perhaps, some tribes of the same race had settled at the period of the Shepherd invasion in Egypt. Mixing with the neighbouring populations, some Japhetic, others Hamitic, the Canaanitish colonists, as we have already said, formed the Liby-Phœnician nation.

4. Herodotus has given us the most valuable details of the inhabitants of the northern coast of Africa in the fifth century B.C. He begins his description by starting from the frontier of Egypt, and, in consequence, first speaks of those tribes who were of the pure blood of Phut.

"The Libyans dwell in the order which I will now describe. Beginning on the side of Egypt, the first Libyans are the Adyrmachidæ. These people have, in most points, the same customs as the Egyptians,

* *Jugurthine War*, xviii. † Vol. i. p. 259.

but use the costume of the Libyans. Their women wear on each leg a ring made of bronze; they let their hair grow long, and when they catch any vermin on their persons, bite it and throw it away. In this they differ from all the other Libyans. The Adyrmachidæ extend from the borders of Egypt to the harbour called Port Plynus.

"Next to the Adyrmachidæ are the Gilligammæ, who inhabit the country westward as far as the Island of Aphrodisias. Off this tract is the Island of Platea, which the Cyrenæans colonised. Here, too, upon the mainland, are Port Menelaüs and Agiris, where the Cyrenæans once lived. The Silphium begins to grow in this region, extending from the Island of Platea on the one side, to the mouth of the Syrtis on the other. The customs of the Gilligammæ are like those of the rest of their countrymen.

"The Asbystæ adjoin the Gilligammæ upon the west. They inhabit the regions above Cyrene, but do not reach to the coast, which belongs to the Cyrenæans. Four-horse chariots are in more common use among them than among any other Libyans. In most of their customs they ape the manners of the Cyrenæans.

"Westward of the Asbystæ dwell the Auschisæ, who possess the country above Barca, reaching, however, to the sea, at the place called Euesperides. In the middle of their territory is the little tribe of the Cabalians, which touches the coast near Tauchira, a city of the Barcæans. Their customs are like those of the Libyans above Cyrene.

"The Nasamonians, a numerous people, are the western neighbours of the Auschisæ. In summer they leave their flocks and herds upon the sea-shore, and go up the country to a place called Auzila, where they gather the dates from the palms, which, in those parts, grow thickly, and are of great size: all of them being of the fruit-bearing kind. They also chase the locusts, and, when caught, dry them in the sun, after which they grind them to powder, and, sprinkling this upon their milk, so drink it. Each man among them has several wives, in their intercourse with whom they resemble the Massagetæ.

"The following are their customs in the swearing of oaths and the practice of augury:—The man, as he swears, lays his hand upon the tomb of some one considered to have been pre-eminently just and good, and, so doing, swears by his name. For divination they betake themselves to the sepulchres of their own ancestors, and, after praying, lie down to sleep upon their graves; by the dreams which then come to them they guide their conduct. When they pledge their faith to one another, each gives the other to drink out of his hand; if there be no liquid to be had, they take up dust from the ground and put their tongues to it.

"On the country of the Nasamonians borders that of the Psylli, who were swept away under the following circumstances:—The south

wind had blown for a long time, and dried up all the tanks in which their water was stored. Now, the whole region within the Syrtis is utterly devoid of springs. Accordingly, the Psylli took counsel among themselves, and by common consent made war upon the south wind—so at least the Libyans say, I do but repeat their words—they went forth and reached the desert; but there the south wind rose and buried them under heaps of sand: whereupon the Psylli being destroyed, their lands passed to the Nasamonians." *

"Such are the tribes of wandering Libyans dwelling upon the sea-coast. Above them inland is the wild-beast tract: and beyond that, a ridge of sand, reaching from Egyptian Thebes to the Pillars of Hercules. Throughout this ridge, at the distance of about ten days' journey from one another, heaps of salt in large lumps lie upon hills. At the top of every hill there gushes forth from the middle of the salt a stream of water, which is both cold and sweet. Around dwell men who are the last inhabitants of Libya, on the side of the desert, living, as they do, more inland than the wild-beast district. Of these nations, the first is that of the Ammonians, who dwell at a distance of ten days' journey from Thebes, and have a temple derived from that of the Theban Jupiter. For at Thebes likewise, as I mentioned above, the image of Jupiter has a face like that of a ram. The Ammonians have another spring besides that which rises from the salt. The water of this stream is lukewarm at early dawn; at the time when the market fills it is much cooler; by noon it has grown quite cold; at this time, therefore, they water their gardens. As the afternoon advances the coldness goes off, till, about sunset, the water is once more lukewarm; still the heat increases, and at midnight it boils furiously. After this time it again begins to cool, and grows less and less hot till morning comes. This spring is called 'the Fountain of the Sun.'

"Next to the Ammonians, at the distance of ten days' journey along the ridge of sand, there is a second salt-hill, like the Ammonian, and a second spring. The country around is inhabited, and the place bears the name of Auzila. Hither it is that the Nasamonians come to gather in the dates.

"Ten days' journey from Auzila, there is again a salt-hill and a spring; palms of the fruitful kind grow here abundantly, as they do also at the other salt-hills. This region is inhabited by a nation called the Garamantians, a very powerful people, who cover the salt with mould, and then sow their crops. From thence is the shortest road to the Lotophagi, a journey of thirty days. In the Garamantian country are found oxen which, as they graze, walk backwards. This they do because their horns curve outwards in front of their heads, so that

* HER. iv. 168, 173.

it is not possible for them when grazing to move forwards, since, in that case, their horns would be come fixed in the ground.' Only herein do they differ from other oxen, and further, in the thickness and hardness of their hides. The Garamantians have four-horse chariots, in which they chase the Troglodyte Ethiopians, who, of all the nations whereof any account has reached our ears, are by far the swiftest of foot. The Troglodytes feed on serpents, lizards, and other similar reptiles. Their language is unlike that of any other people; it sounds like the screeching of bats.

"At the distance of ten days' journey from the Garamantians, there is again another salt-hill and spring of water; around which dwell a people, called the Atarantians, who alone, of all known nations, are destitute of names. The title of Atarantians is borne by the whole race in common; but the men have no particular names of their own. The Atarantians, when the sun rises high in the heaven, curse him, and load him with reproaches, because (they say) he burns and wastes both their country and themselves. Once more at the distance of ten days' journey there is a salt-hill, a spring, and an inhabited tract. Near the salt is a mountain, called Atlas, very taper and round; so lofty, moreover, that the top (it is said) cannot be seen, the clouds never quitting it either summer or winter. The natives call this mountain 'the Pillar of Heaven'; and they themselves take their name from it, being called Atlantes. They are reported not to eat any living thing, and never to have any dreams."*

Here the information of Herodotus, as to the interior of the continent, is at an end. This description may be regarded as generally correct, with the exception of the salt-hills placed at ten days' journey from each other on the road. Even this, however, is a fact, though distorted in the account given by the Libyans to the Greek historian. The desert is actually dotted, although not with the regularity stated by Herodotus, with inhabited oases where water is found. The existence of salt lakes and saline efflorescences has been confirmed by all travellers through the region spoken of by the historian, the French soldiers found them everywhere in Algeria beyond the Atlas, and the whole Sahara is nothing more than the bed of a dried up sea.

The father of history adds yet a few more details on the manners and customs of the different tribes of the race of Phut.

"Thus from Egypt, as far as Lake Tritonis, Libya is inhabited by wandering tribes, whose drink is milk, and their food the flesh of animals. Cow's flesh, however, none of these tribes ever taste, but abstain from it for the same reason as the Egyptians; neither do any of them breed swine. . . .†

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* HER. iv. 181—184.

† Ibid iv. 186.

"The rites which the wandering Libyans use in sacrificing are the following:—They begin with the ear of the victim, which they cut off and throw over their house; this done, they kill the animal by twisting the neck. They sacrifice to the Sun and Moon, but not to any other god. . . .*

"The Greeks learnt from the Libyans to yoke four horses to a chariot.†

"All the wandering tribes bury their dead according to the fashion of the Greeks, except the Nasamonians. They bury them sitting, and are right careful, when the sick man is at the point of giving up the ghost, to make him sit and not let him die lying down. The dwellings of these people are made of the stems of the asphodel, and of rushes wattled together. They can be carried from place to place."‡

5. In resuming the narrative of Herodotus, as to the maritime populations, we shall find ourselves to the west of the Syrtis Major, in the midst of the Libyo-Japhetic tribes, who had not intermingled to any great extent with the Hamitic races who had preceded them, and we shall meet with several of the names that have already been mentioned in the accounts of the wars of these tribes against the Egyptian Pharaohs of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties.

"These border the Nasamonians on the south: westward, along the sea-shore, their neighbours are the Macæ, who, by letting the locks about the crown of their head grow long, while they clip them close everywhere else, make their hair resemble a crest. In war, these people use the skins of ostriches for shields. The river Cinyps rises among them from the height called 'the Hill of the Graces,' and runs from thence through their country to the sea. The Hill of the Graces is thickly covered with wood, and is thus very unlike the rest of Libya, which is bare. It is distant two hundred furlongs from the sea.

"The custom of shaving the greater part of the hair, and leaving only one lock, the position of which varied according to the tribe, is exactly what we see depicted on the Egyptian monuments as one of the characteristics of the Japhetic Libyans; their use of the skins and ostrich feathers—the one as a defence, the other as an ornament—is also represented in the sculptures.

"Adjoining the Macæ are the Gindanes, whose women wear on their legs anklets of leather. Each lover that a woman has, gives her one; and she who can show the most is the best esteemed, as she appears to have been loved by the greatest number of men.

"A promontory jutting out into the sea from the country of the Gindanes is inhabited by the Lotophagi, who live entirely on the fruit of

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* HER. iv. 188. † Ibid. iv. 190.
‡ Ibid. iv. 190.

the lotus tree. The lotus fruit is about the size of the lentisk berry, and in sweetness resembles the date. The Lotophagi even succeed in obtaining from it a sort of wine.

"The sea coast beyond the Lotophagi is occupied by the Machlyans, who use the lotus to some extent, though not so much as the people of whom we last spoke. The Machlyans reach as far as the great river called the Triton, which empties itself into the great Lake Tritonis. Here in this lake is an island called Phla, which, it is said, the Lacedæmonians were to have colonised, according to an oracle."*

The river and the Lake Triton play a great part in the old Grecian traditions of Libya. There was the religious centre of the Libyans, properly so called, the Lebu of the Egyptian monuments—the tribes of the race of Japhet, who came by sea and settled in Africa. The name alone is sufficient to stamp in an incontestable manner the Arian origin of the people on its banks. Doubtless these populations, in the course of time, abandoned their ancient language, and adopted that of the nations of the race of Phut, who surrounded them, for no author of antiquity mentions a difference between their idiom and that of their neighbours. The name of their sacred lake remains, however, as a last vestige of the period when they used an Arian language. Triton is the Sanscrit *trito*, "lake, water," derived from the root *trit*, *tri*, "bank, shore," which has produced the appellations of the Vedic *Trita aptya*, "the one who is born in the midst of the waters," and of the Triton and Amphitrite of Greek mythology. Rivers, named Triton, are found in Crete, Thessaly, Arcadia, Bœotia, Doris, and in Thrace.

"The next tribe beyond the Machlyans is the tribe of the Auseans. Both these nations inhabit the borders of Lake Tritonis, being separated from one another by the river Triton. Both also wear their hair long; but the Machlyans let it grow at the back of the head, while the Auseans have it long in front. The Ausean maidens keep year by year, a feast in honour of Minerva, whereat their custom is to draw up in two bodies and fight with stones and clubs. They say that these are rites which have come down to them from their fathers, and that they honour with them their native goddess, who is the same as the Minerva (Athené) of the Grecians. If any of the maidens die of the wounds they receive, the Auseans declare that such are false maidens. Before the fight is suffered to begin they have another ceremony. One of the virgins, the loveliest of the number, is selected from the rest; a Corinthian helmet and a complete suit of Greek armour are publicly put upon her, and, thus adorned, she is made to mount into a chariot and led around the whole lake in a procession."†

The worship of Pallas Tritonida, or Tritogenia, was celebrated

* HER. iv. 176. † Ibid. iv. 180.

throughout the whole of Greece; according to all traditions it came from Libya, as well as that of Neptune, or Poseidon. There is, however, much still to be done before the importance of Libyan myths in primitive Grecian mythology is fully understood. The existence and origin of these traditions, for a long time inexplicable, is now easily understood, when the Egyptian monuments have revealed the relationship of the Pelasgic populations to the Libyans, the bonds of alliance and incessant communication in the times of the nineteenth and twentieth Egyptian dynasties between the Achæans of the Peloponnesus and the Arian tribes of Northern Africa, and the part taken by the Achæans, Tyrrhenians, Laconians, and Philistines of Crete, in the attacks of the Libyans and Mashuash, or Maxyans, on Egypt.

Herodotus mentions the nations beyond Lake Triton as being no longer nomadic.

"Westward of the River Triton, and adjoining upon the Auseans, are other Libyans, who till the ground and live in houses; these people are named the Maxyans. They let the hair grow long on the right side of their heads, and shave it close on the left; they besmear their bodies with red paint, and they say that they are descended from the men of Troy. Their country and the remainder of Libya towards the west is far fuller of wild beasts and of wood than the country of the wandering people."*

The Maxyans, as we have already said, are the Mashuash of the Egyptian monuments, who were at one time settled much nearer the valley of the Nile. In reading the description given of their costume, it seems to represent those Tamahu, or Japhetic Libyans, depicted on the Pharaonic monuments with a lock of braided hair falling on one side of the head, the rest of which is shaved, and the body tattooed all over.

"Next to the Maxyan Libyans are the Zavecians, whose wives drive their chariots to battle."†

The Zavecians are evidently the ancestors of the Zuavas of Algeria, an essentially warlike population, from amongst whom were first raised the French Zouaves, and who have preserved their name for ages.

"On them border the Gyzantians, in whose country a vast deal of honey is made by bees; very much more, however, by the skill of men. The people all paint themselves red, and eat monkeys, whereof there is inexhaustible store in the hills."‡

These Gyzantians, or Byzantes, were among the tribes in whom the Arian blood was purest; for Scylax describes them as still in his time fair, and remarkably handsome. They formed a numerous nation; a small portion, however, alone was independent, and preserved its former customs. The greater part had joined the Liby-Phœnicians and

* HER. iv. 191. † Ibid. iv. 193. ‡ Ibid. iv. 194.

the Carthaginian colonists (whose manners and language they adopted) in the province to which the name of Byzacium had been given.

"It seems to me that Libya is not to compare for goodness of soil with either Asia or Europe, except the Cinyps region, which is named after the river that waters it. This piece of land is equal to any country in the world for cereal crops, and is in nothing like the rest of Libya. For the soil here is black, and springs of water abound, so that there is nothing to fear from drought; nor do heavy rains (and it rains in that part of Libya) do any harm when they soak the ground. The returns of the harvest come up to the measure which prevails in Babylonia. The soil is likewise good in the country of the Euesperites, for there the land brings forth in the best years a hundred-fold; but the Cinyps region yields three hundred-fold."*

What Herodotus here says of the extraordinary fertility of certain parts of Africa is confirmed by modern witnesses. The territory of Carthage, now the government of Tunis, was in this respect one of the most favoured regions of the African continent.

6. Herodotus does not mention the nations of the Atlas region, nor those of the districts now called Algeria and Morocco. We gather our information about these countries from the Greek and Roman historians of a later period. We have already quoted the valuable extracts on their original population, made by Sallust from the books of Hiempsal and other Carthaginian authors. The tradition, faithfully recorded by this historian, of the Medes, Persians, and Armenians, who arrived in Western Africa by sea, and who had belonged to the army of Hercules during his expedition into Spain, seemed formerly a fable invented by the Numidians, in order to claim for themselves an illustrious origin; but after the light thrown by the Egyptian inscriptions on the history of Northern Africa, it is impossible to avoid recognising a distorted but well-founded tradition of the establishment of a branch of the great Arian colony in Libya, probably not the one settled on the banks of Lake Triton, and possibly Iranian. Thus is explained the presence, among the Kabyles of Algeria, of fair-haired tribes, who have been there from time immemorial, and who plainly belong to the Indo-European stock—tribes among whom it was at one time thought were to be found the descendants of the Vandals.

The union of the Arian invaders with the ancient populations of the coast sprung from Phut gave birth to the Mauri, or Maurusii, whose primitive name it has been asserted was Medes, probably an alteration of the word, *Amazigh*. The alliance of the same invaders with the Getulians beyond the Atlas, produced the Numidians. The Mauri were agriculturists, and of settled habits; the Numidians, as

* HER. iv. 198.

their Greek appellation indicates, led a nomadic life. They bore the same relation to each other as do now the two elements into which the population of Algeria and Morocco is divided. On one side the Moors of the towns, the Berbers, Kabyles, or Schillus, who lead in the mountains a settled agricultural life; and on the other the Arab tribes, who wander through the plains as nomadic shepherds.

7. The manners of the different African nations, whom we have rapidly passed in review, were principally determined by the nature of the country where they had fixed their residence. The north of Africa presents two very different aspects. As Herodotus remarks, in his usual felicitous manner, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Syrtis Minor the coast is rugged with mountains, and with promontories jutting out into the sea, and contains fertile valleys suitable for the settlement of agricultural tribes. From the Syrtis Minor to the Cyrenaica, the continent, on the contrary, becomes level; the barren desert comes down to the very edge of the sea. There none but nomadic tribes could live. The Cyrenaica, a high and well-watered promontory, runs 150 miles into the sea, opposite Greece, and possesses the natural advantages of the Atlas region. This must indeed have been a convenient station, a rich land, civilised and covered with towns. Between Cyrenaica and Egypt the desert and nomadic tribes reappeared. The Hamite and Japhetic Libyans inhabited all this coast, nomadic in one place, settled in another, keeping the black tribes back towards the south. Two strange races, however, settled amongst them on the two promontories facing Greece and Sicily—the Greeks on the first, and on the second, as well as on many other places on the coast, the Phœnicians. We shall have to mention the Greeks of Cyrenaica, though only incidentally; and we will now try to give a sketch of the history of the Carthaginians up to the Median wars, or to the period when their great struggles against the Greeks began in Sicily.

Section II.—Foundation and Site of Carthage.

1. At the head of the Gulf of Tunis which is formed by Cape Bon to the east, and Cape Zizib (Cape Farina), to the west, there is a peninsula, formerly bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by the Lake of Tunis, at present by two lakes. An isthmus, about three miles in width, connects it with the mainland. On this peninsula Carthage was built between the sites of Utica and of Tunis, both which towns could be seen from the walls, the one being distant but three, the other not even two leagues. A narrow tongue of land, called by the Roman historians *Tænia*, projected westward from the extremity of the peninsula between Lake Tunis and the sea, as far

as the narrow opening where is now the fortress of Goletta. To the north-east of this tongue of land were the two ports communicating with each other, and with the sea, by a single entrance 700 yards wide, protected by iron chains. The first was the mercantile, the second the military port.

Near these ports, on the most elevated position of the peninsula, where at a later period Saint Louis fell, and where a chapel belonging now to France has been built in his memory, was the citadel of Byrsa. The town of Carthage, properly so called, surrounded this citadel, and was protected by a wall sufficient for a long time to contain all its inhabitants. But at a later date, when the riches and power of the Punic city increased, the space contained by this enclosure no longer sufficed. Then a new town, a large suburb of dwellings interspersed with gardens, was built outside, covering nearly the whole peninsula. The Greek and Roman writers call this suburb Megara or Megalia, the original form may perhaps have been Machaneh ("the camp"). A triple rampart enclosed the isthmus, and protected this quarter against an attack by land.

2. At the period of the great prosperity of Sidon, towards the sixteenth century, B.C., a town called Cambe had been founded by the Phœnicians on the site afterwards occupied by Carthage; this was, with Hippo, their most ancient colony on the northern coast of Africa. This establishment did not at first succeed. Its population was absorbed, and its prosperity supplanted by Utica, built in 1158 by the Tyrians. The site of Cambe remained desolate, although the Tyrians were covering the neighbouring coast with colonies. It was not till 872 B.C. that the princess Elissar, at the head of the aristocratic Tyrian emigrants who fled from the power of the democratic party, and the tyranny of king Piimeliun, stopped at this place, where the eminently favourable situation seemed to invite the foundation of a great town. They resolved upon settling there, and constructed a fortified city, calling it Kereth Hadesheth ("the new town"), the origin of the name of Carthage.

These facts having already been related at length in the preceding chapter, we will not again repeat them, although it was necessary to allude to them here, as the circumstances attending the foundation of Carthage greatly influenced its history. The aristocratic position of its first inhabitants explains the spirit of its constitution. The early development of its power, in which respect it was an exception to the other cities founded by the Phœnicians, resulted from two causes; first, being founded by a large body of the inhabitants of Tyre, it was from the commencement larger and more populous than the generality of such towns; secondly, it was built in a country where many other Canaanitish towns already existed, from which assistance could be obtained;

and being the largest and richest of these towns, it soon assumed a leading position. Favoured by its maritime situation, Carthage naturally took the first place among the Phœnician colonies; and the force of circumstances conspired to make it not only a political, but also a commercial centre among factories, independent, no doubt, one of the other, but necessarily confederated under the influence of a common interest of monopoly and defence.

Section III.—First Carthaginian Territorial Acquisitions. (Ninth—Seventh Centuries B.C.)

1. Like the greater part of our modern factories, the Phœnician towns on the African coast were isolated outposts on a foreign shore, possessing only the small amount of land commanded by their walls. We know for a fact that in founding Carthage, Elissar—surnamed Dido, as we have already said—had bought from the native monarch of the country, Japon, king of the Libyans (doubtless Zavecians who gave the country its name of Zeugitana), the site on which her companions settled, just as sites were obtained for the first British settlements in India and Africa. The price of this cession was an annual rent similar to what was paid in like circumstances under the name of custom-house duties.

Justin* asserts, that these dues were paid until the times of Darius, son of Hystaspes; but this assertion is unworthy of belief, and is contradicted by numerous and positive facts. It is certain that no sooner did the Carthaginians find their strength increasing, than they changed their policy with respect to the natives of the surrounding country, and no longer maintained the humble position they had at first assumed. This conduct having embroiled them with the neighbouring Libyan tribes, they had to enter on a long series of wars, whence they issued victorious, but hampered with subjects eager to seize the first opportunity of throwing off their yoke. In 250 years, from the middle of the ninth, to the end of the seventh century, they conquered inch by inch the whole region between the Syrtis Minor, and the frontier of Numidia, subjugating the Libyans, and driving back the Numidians. In this, as in all after wars, they found faithful and valuable allies in the mixed nation of the Liby-Phœnicians who occupied a considerable part of Zeugitana and Byzacium; and being, like the Carthaginians, of Canaanitish race, not only looked upon the Tyrian colonists as brothers, but also acquired increased supremacy over the native tribes with each increase of the Carthaginian power.

2. Carthage employed the same means to keep conquered states in

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* Solinus xxxvi.

subjection as were used by the Romans in Italy. Colonies of its own citizens, and of Liby-Phœnicians, who were almost entirely amalgamated with the Carthaginians properly so called, were sent to these countries, where they caused the authority of the home government to be respected, and contributed to bring about a closer alliance with the natives. Amongst all the nations of antiquity, there was not one who understood better than Carthage how to construct a colonial system; nor was there any that colonised on a larger scale, or with greater success.

The colonies founded in later times for commercial purposes were all situated by the sea coast, whilst their earlier colonies inland were all agricultural. The coasting trade was so limited that it could not even supply their own wants. But as the Carthaginian exports partly consisted of the products of their country, agriculture and commerce mutually assisted each other. The government of this republic looked upon the establishment of these colonies as the surest method of keeping the people contented, by preventing a too great increase of population, and by giving the magistrates the means of making grants of land to the poorer part of the population.

The whole territory of Carthage seems to have been covered with these settlements; but the greater number were on the east coast, from the gulf and the suburb of the city to the Syrtis Minor.

It is easy to see how great was the interest of the metropolis in keeping these cities in an entirely dependent condition. The tribute they paid formed the bulk of its public revenue; with the subsidies they furnished, the greater part of the wars which aggrandised the state were carried on; their contingents formed the most reliable portion of the army. They appear, however, to have been rather great towns than cities properly so called, for the Carthaginians had no strongholds but those on the coast. Doubtless, the jealousy of the metropolis forbade the erection of fortifications, and thus the colonies became the certain prey of each adventurer, or conqueror, who dared to invade the territory of Carthage.

These Carthaginian colonies must not be confounded with the sea-coast towns built by the Phœnicians themselves. Over these their younger sister did not exercise complete sovereignty, but merely asserted a simple priority. Instead of being subjects, these were allies, united in a confederation headed by Carthage, exactly as Tyre claimed the lead among the cities of Phœnicia. This state of things continued during the whole period of Carthaginian power. In all its treaties with Rome, the republic made separate stipulations for the *Tyrian towns* as for privileged allies. The antiquity of Utica procured it priority among these towns, and it was placed on almost the same level as Carthage, though its political importance had long since vanished.

3. The continental territory thus conquered by Carthage between the ninth and seventh centuries, was divided into three zones, or districts, corresponding to three distinct periods of conquest. The first was Zeugitana, or Africa proper, called Carchedonia by some Greek writers, extending from the north to the south, in length about 230 miles, and about 170 in breadth. It contained, besides the capital, a number of maritime or Tyrian cities, such as Hippo Zaritus, Utica, Tunis, Clypea and some others. Inland, the most important colonies were Vacca, Bulla, Sicca, and Zama. To the south, was Byzacium, with a coast also covered with flourishing towns, amongst which Hadrumetum, Leptis Minor, Tyrselus, and Tacape, were the most important. The agricultural colonies, established between Zeugitana and Byzacium, in the midst of the country, were more than three hundred in number.

The province situated near the Syrtis Minor was called Emporia. Its towns, as the word indicates, were essentially mercantile. "This country," says Scylax, "inhabited by the Libyans, is the most magnificent and fertile; it abounds in flocks, and its inhabitants are the richest and handsomest of all."

4. Thus the force of circumstances, and its very position had, from the beginning of its history, made Carthage a conquering power, and almost compelled its people to adopt a policy differing from that of the Phœnician cities. These, from their geographical position, were compelled to renounce all idea of conquest, and to devote themselves to commerce. Surrounded by powerful empires, the Phœnicians, properly so called, could not always preserve even their own independence, and found it to their advantage to become brokers between these empires and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. With Carthage, it was otherwise. Situated at the extremity of a great continent where nomadic and warlike tribes supplied the means of enrolling large armies, and surrounded, so to speak, by countries without a master, the field of contest was open, and self-interest soon obliged the great city to enter on it. This is the first example we find in history of a free and powerful commercial state becoming aggrandised by conquest.

In all the Carthaginian wars an entirely different policy was pursued to that of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian conquerors, who attacked and plundered foreign nations merely from the love of conquest and spoil. It would be rash to affirm that the Carthaginians pursued a preconceived plan in all their conquests, but we think that, with Heeren, we may assert that experience led them to adopt certain maxims from which unforeseen circumstances alone caused them to deviate. This was also agreeable to the spirit of their aristocratic government; for under such a constitution, state maxims are trans-

mitted in one family from one statesman to another, and history presents such striking examples of this, that it is impossible to have any doubts on the subject.

The nature and extent of the Carthaginian territory on the African continent, sufficiently prove that the desire of aggrandisement was controlled by an apparent moderation, based on the principle of not occupying more land than could be defended. What other state had more means of extending its power, and yet knew so well how to restrain its ambition? The whole continent of Africa lay open to Carthage, and no great empires existed there as an obstacle to the ambition of a conqueror. Nevertheless, the Carthaginian possessions there were always limited. The same conditions were found in Europe, even in wealthy Spain, and yet there, no conquests were attempted by the Carthaginians till a much later date, when they were compelled to take possession of the soil by the strategical necessities of their struggle with the Romans.

We will for a moment anticipate the course of their history, as the acquisition of their territory in Africa has led us to speak of that colonial policy which was peculiar to themselves, and so different from that of the Phœnicians, their ancestors. When we find them extending their dominion into Africa, their whole conduct proves that they followed a simple and natural rule. A commercial and maritime nation soon perceives the fact that there are no safer or more advantageous possessions than islands. The most striking historical examples prove that large continents can not be guarded by fleets alone, as even if all the ports are closed or blockaded, ample supplies can be drawn from the inland districts. Carthage early adopted this policy; and, even at the period of its greatest prosperity, restricted its possessions beyond its natural territory almost exclusively to islands. There, they had no rivalry to fear, their own maritime superiority secured their dominion, and trade could be carried on almost unperceived and without risk, in an age when as yet there was no great rival maritime power. These were the maxims invariably observed by the Carthaginians for a long period in their conquests; and the western part of the Mediterranean, filled with large and small islands, was an open field to them, and in harmony both with their position and resources.

SECTION IV.—QUARREL WITH THE CYRENIANS—ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMERCE WITH THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA—BEGINNING OF THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

1. AFTER having by degrees made themselves masters of all the territory fit for agriculture around them, the Carthaginians were

naturally led to attempt the conquest of the country bordering on the Syrtis, a vast region, more than 450 miles long, sandy and sterile, unfitted for cultivation, and inhabited only by the Nomadic tribes of the Lotophagi and the Nasamones. The possession of this country was, however, of great importance; for caravans were constantly traversing it to transport the rich commerce of the interior of Africa, and by acquiring possession of this country Carthage made herself mistress of all the profits of this commerce. The Phœnicians some time before had established two towns on the inhospitable shore of Syrtica—Leptis Magna, a Sidonian, and Macar, afterwards called Oea, a Tyrian colony—and they had greatly prospered, owing to the circumstance of their being the sole ports for the shipping of merchandise which was brought across the negro country. But as they advanced in this direction, the Carthaginians came into contact with rivals, whom they met for the first time, the Greek colony at Cyrene. This was the earliest occasion on which the people of the great African city found themselves in contact with the Hellenic race, to whom the force of circumstances and conflicting interests opposed them in deadly contest for centuries, throughout all the western basin of the Mediterranean, until the day when the military power of Rome superseded that of Greece and ended the contest by annihilating its proud rival.

2. The attempts at settlement on the favoured shore of Cyrenaica, made by the Pelasgic and Hellenic race, date from the remotest antiquity. There is an entire cycle of legends and traditions describing the inhabitants of Greece as frequenting this country during the heroic ages, and attempting to found colonies there. The Argonauts touch there, and predict the future glory of the Greek cities one day to arise in the land. The nymph, Cyrene, the beloved of Apollo, daughter of Hypseus, king of the Lapithae of Thessaly, is transported to this country, called after her name, and there she gave birth to Aristaeus, who became king of the country. Some Locri Ozolæ land at Cyrcinis and Uzala; and some Greek vessels, that lost their way in the return from Troy, land their crews at Meschéla. Although all these traditions, current in Greece before the foundation of Cyrene, are, like all traditions of primitive Hellas, mixed with religious fables, we cannot refuse to believe that they have some historical foundation; this is also the opinion of the learned Mannert. Their truthful character is more firmly established now that we are acquainted with the ancient connection of Libya with Greece, and with the invasion of Egypt by the Achæans, Laconians, and Tyrrhenians, by way of the western frontier of the Delta, having disembarked in Cyrenaica.

It is impossible simply to regard, as an accidental coincidence, the fact that the Greek chronologists date the first attempts at settlement of their race in Cyrenaica, in 1333 B.C., exactly at the period when the

Libyo-Pelasgic confederation was most flourishing, and the voyages between Greece and the African coast most frequent. However this may be, in 640, Aristotle, son of Polymnestus, surnamed Battus, "the stammerer," * a descendant of one of the Minyæ expelled from Lemnos by the Dorians, quitted Thera for the African coast at the command of the oracle of Delphi, at the head of a numerous colony, containing representatives of the different elements composing the population of the Island of Thera—Dorians, originally from Sparta; Cadmeans, emigrants from Thebes; Minyæ from Lemnos; and Hellenised descendants of the ancient Sidonian colonists. This expedition first landed in the Island of Platea, and remained there two years. The colonists then removed to Aziris, where they remained seven years; then, changing their abode for the last time, they, in 631, settled on the site where they built Cyrene, after buying the land from the neighbouring Libyans. Agreeably to Dorian customs, they formed themselves into an aristocratic monarchy under the government of Battus and his descendants.

At first the new colony progressed but slowly; but the third king of the Cyrenean dynasty, Battus II., surnamed "the happy," having ascended the throne about 580, applied himself to the development of the city, still too weak to successfully oppose the indigenous tribes. He invited the Greeks to share in the fertile lands to be taken from the Libyans, and, to induce them to do so, applied to the Pythoness, who soon pronounced the oracle†—"Those who do not go to fertile Libya until after the division of lands will have cause to repent." Thus incited, a crowd of Greeks from the Peloponnesus, from Crete and the Islands of the Ægæan Sea, flocked to increase the population of Cyrene, and new Hellenic towns—Apollonia, Barca, Teuchira, and Hesperis—arose as by enchantment on the neighbouring coast. The colony thus aggrandised itself at the expense of the Nomadic Libyans, who were unable to offer any resistance.

But these ancient masters of the soil did not see themselves thus despoiled without murmuring; they were feeble it is true, but they could and did summon a powerful protector to their aid. Adicran, their chief, implored the help of the Pharaoh Uahprahet, who sent considerable forces against the Cyrenæans. The two armies met in the beautiful country of Irasa, near the fountain of Theste;‡ the Egyptians were defeated and nearly entirely destroyed (570), and this disaster brought on the revolution that dethroned Uahprahet. This victory confirmed

* The Greeks have invented many legends as to this name of Battus. It seems not improbable that the name was adopted by the son of Polymnestus subsequent to his settlement in Libya. It is remarkable that the father of the king of the Libyans, who invaded Egypt under Merenphtah, was called Batta.

† HER. iv. 159.

‡ Ibid. iv. 159.

the power of the Cyrenæans over the territory they had invaded, and over the Libyan tribes around; it also secured them the respect of Egypt, and its new sovereign, Ahmes, sought their friendship, and married Laodice, daughter of Battus.

3. It was after the victory of Irasa that the Cyrenæans, in extending their dominion over the Libyan tribes, were brought into conflict with the Carthaginians, who also, but from an opposite point, were subjecting the same populations.

"Between the two states," says Sallust,* "was interposed a totally unvaried sandy plain, where was neither river nor hill to serve as a mark for the boundaries, and this occasioned a long and severe war between them. The forces of both nations sustained defeats both by land and sea, and were both much weakened. In this state of things, they began to apprehend that a common enemy would attack both the conquerors and the conquered, equally weakened. They agreed to a truce, and arranged that two deputies should be sent from each state, and that the place of meeting should be the common boundary of the two states.

"Carthage chose two brothers, named Philœni, who travelled with great expedition. The Cyrenæan deputies were slower, either from their own fault or because the weather was unfavourable; for often in these deserts, as on the sea, there arise tempests that stop travellers: when the wind blows on the vast level surface that offers no obstacle, it raises whirlwinds of sand, and this, carried with violence, enters the mouth and eyes, and prevents travellers from walking. The Cyrenæans finding themselves behind time, and fearing to be punished on their return, for the harm that their delay might cause their country, accused the Carthaginians of leaving before the time, and raised a thousand difficulties. They declared themselves decided to risk anything rather than consent to so unequal a division. The Philœni offered to come to any new arrangement that should be equal for both parties; and on this, the Cyrenæans gave them the option of either being buried alive in the place they had fixed as the Carthaginian boundary, or, on the same conditions, to allow them to go as far as they would. The Philœni accepted the proposition, happy to sacrifice their lives for their country, and were interred alive."

This story has all the characteristics of a legend, composed after the event by popular imagination. But the fact is certain that, at the end of a war, the limits of the two territories of Carthage and of Cyrene, were fixed at the head of the Syrtis Major; and there were raised two altars, called by the Greek writers *the altars of the Philæni*, where the Carthaginians worshipped these two heroic or divine personages, whose Punic name was thus translated into Greek.

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* *Jugurthine War*, lxxix.

4. The definite result of this conflict between Carthage and Cyrene, was thus to leave the daughter of Tyre in possession of all the district of the Syrtis, sovereign of the Lotophagi and Nasamones, and consequently mistress of the caravan trade with the interior of Africa. This commerce, carried on by means of the Lotophagi and Nasamones, was chiefly in black slaves, gold dust, elephants' tusks, and precious stones, exchanged by the populations of the interior at the markets of the Garamantes country, and that of the Atlantes (now Fezzan and Bilma), for manufactured products, dates and salt. It became one of the principal sources of Carthaginian wealth.

The great jealousy of the Carthaginians, who studiously concealed from foreigners the routes of their trade, for fear of rivalry, has deprived us of all information as to the way in which this commerce was conducted, and the exact halting-places of the caravans of the Nasamones and Lotophagi, who were often joined by merchants from Carthage itself. It is probable, however, that after commencing by going to Fezzan and Bilma, they penetrated farther unaided, so as to dispense with "middlemen," and to reach the fertile countries of Central Africa. Herodotus has recorded an attempt of this kind, when, before the Median wars, explorers of the Nasamonian nation travelled as far as the Niger, and the marshy countries bordering on Lake Tchad.

"They said there had grown up among them some wild young men, the sons of certain chiefs, who, when they came to man's estate, indulged in all manner of extravagances, and among other things drew lots for five of their number to go and explore the desert parts of Libya, and try if they could not penetrate further than any had done previously. The coast of Libya along the sea, which washes it to the north throughout its entire length—from Egypt to Cape Soloeis, which is its furthest point—is inhabited by Libyans of many distinct tribes, who possess the whole tract, except certain portions which belong to the Phœnicians and the Greeks. Above the coast line, and the country inhabited by the maritime tribes, Libya is full of wild beasts; while beyond the wild beast region there is a tract which is wholly sand, very scant of water, and utterly and entirely a desert.

"The young men, therefore, despatched on this errand by their comrades, with a plentiful supply of water and provisions, travelled at first through the inhabited region, passing which they came to the wild beast tract, whence they finally entered upon the desert, which they proceeded to cross in a direction from east to west. After journeying for many days over a wide extent of sand, they came at last to a plain, where they observed trees growing; approaching them, and seeing fruit on them, they proceeded to gather it. While they were thus engaged, there came upon them some dwarfish men, under the middle height,

who seized them and carried them off. The Nasamonians could not understand a word of their language, nor had they any acquaintance with the language of the Nasamonians. They were led across extensive marshes, and finally came to a town, where all the men were of the height of their conductors, and black-complexioned. 'A great river flowed by the town, running from west to east, and containing crocodiles."*

This great negro town, situated near the Niger, cannot be, as has been supposed, Timbuctoo, so flourishing in the middle ages, and the centre of the whole commerce of the Western Soudan. The learned traveller, Barth, has proved that Timbuctoo was not founded till several centuries after the Christian era. But the town spoken of by the father of history must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood. Probably no traces of it now remain, for the greater part of the towns in the interior of Africa, built of earthen cabins, disappear from the surface of the soil as soon as a defeat, or any other event of the same nature, causes them to be abandoned by their inhabitants. In any case, the journey of the Nasamonians, related by Herodotus from hearsay among the Cyrenians, bears in itself, as Heeren justly remarks, the manifest impress of an exploration undertaken to find a new commercial route. It is not improbable that this example was followed by others, and that the caravans profited by the information acquired by the bold travellers.

SECTION V.—CARTHAGE IN POSSESSION OF THE TYRIAN COLONIES IN THE WEST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN—FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

1. THE efforts of Carthage up to this time had been exclusively directed towards the establishment of a territorial empire in Africa. The dominion of the seas still belonged to Tyre; and by an annual embassy to the Temple of Melkarth, the African cities acknowledged the supremacy of the mother country. The Carthaginians, however, of Phœnician origin, had doubtless not forgotten the instincts of their race. They had ships, as had also their allies, the Tyrian towns, and they already carried on a considerable maritime commerce; but as yet they had not thought of aspiring to the dominion of the sea, and to the possession of foreign colonies of their own. Their commerce merged in that of Tyre, as the prosperity of that town had not been destroyed by its siege by Sargon and its capture by Sennacherib. Tyre still possessed the colonies of Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, and held in its hands the rich trade of the west of the Mediterranean and the mono-

* HER. ii. 32.

polies of more distant enterprises towards the Scilly and the British Isles.

The ruin of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, in 574, changed the aspect of affairs, opened a new career for the activity of the Carthaginians, and was the true starting point of the wonderful prosperity of the Phœnician republic in Africa.

Numerous fugitives then repaired to Carthage, and these increased the population, especially of the maritime classes. At the first news of the great event, Carthage and the Spanish colonies, as we have already said, acknowledged the suzerainty of the conqueror of their metropolis, and paid him tribute. This submission, however, was merely nominal, and was soon forgotten.

The city of Melkarth was now reduced to such a state of humiliation that it could no longer maintain its colonies. Abandoned in this way, they were too feeble to defend themselves and preserve their independence. The native populations, among whom they were situated, rapidly perceived this, and soon the situation of the various Phœnician establishments in the Western Mediterranean became most critical. The Turdetani of Bætica rose in insurrection, and murdered the Phœnician and Liby-Phœnician colonists scattered throughout their country, and besieged the coast towns. The Greeks of Sicily threatened Motya, Soluntum, and Panormus, the only towns remaining to the Canaanites in the country. In their distress, all these cities founded by Tyre turned for help to Carthage, as since the ruin of the metropolis she was the only town of Phœnician origin sufficiently powerful to protect them; and offering to become subject to them, implored the help of the Carthaginians. Thus, by the force of circumstances, Carthage was led to become a maritime power of the first rank, and to succeed to the immense colonial possessions of Tyre, as well as to the monopoly of the commerce in the west of the Mediterranean.

2. The continental empire which the Carthaginians had formed in Africa gave them the means of levying and supporting great armies, recruited among the Libyans and the Liby-Phœnicians. It was easy for them in their own port, with the aid of the other Tyrian towns on the African coast, to equip a numerous fleet. Thus in a short time they could furnish effectual protection to the establishments in Sicily, Gozo, and Malta; at Cossura, Caralis, and Nora, in Sardinia; and Ebusus, in the Balearic Isles, which passed into their possession, and became the basis of their future power. A great expedition was sent to Spain, which freed the towns of the coast, and re-conquered the valley of the Bætis, as well as the mining districts; a possession of great importance. A large number of Liby-Phœnicians were carried to this country, and established there as colonists, in order to act as a check on the native inhabitants; on the coast of the Bastuli especially, they were so

numerous that their union with the ancient population of the country produced a new race, the Bastulo-Phœnicians. Thus the system of government and colonisation applied to Zeugitana and Byzacium was also practised in Bætica.

To secure their strategical and commercial communication with Spain, by land as well as by sea, and thus guard against all eventualities, the Carthaginians occupied themselves in carefully fortifying the towns of the district, called by the Greeks Metagonitis, forming an uninterrupted chain along the coasts of Numidia and Mauritania as far as the Pillars of Hercules. The principal of these towns were Collops, Pithemsa, Iol, afterwards Cæsarea (Cherchel), and Siga. They were apparently founded by the Tyrians as ports for their vessels to touch at on the way to Gades, and the native princes permitted their establishment, for having no navy, they attached no importance to the possession of the sea-coast, but thought only of the fertile lands of the interior. Carthage also allied itself intimately with the Numidians, so as to secure their protection for the towns of the Metagonitis, which were most valuable in a strategic point of view, and also as providing from their warlike tribes bodies of mercenaries for the Carthaginian armies.

SECTION VI.—WARS WITH THE GREEKS OF SICILY AND THE PHOCÆANS.—MIDDLE OF THE SIXTH CENTURY, B.C.

1. IT is impossible for a nation to stop on the road to conquest. However much moderation may at first be shown, from the moment that this fatal course is entered on it is impossible to avoid being led further than was at first intended. Conquests entail new conquests, and until the day when their very number brings on the catastrophe, new wars must always be undertaken to maintain their old dominion.

The Carthaginians soon felt the operation of this inevitable law. From the day they resolved to succeed to the Tyrian colonies and become a dominant maritime power, they found themselves compelled to attempt incessant conquests and to wage wars that did not terminate till the last day of their history. The Tyrians had been able to maintain the monopoly of the commerce and navigation of the west of the Mediterranean during several centuries in peace, because the populations on the coasts were still uncivilised, and no rivals had as yet arisen in this sea to oppose them. The Carthaginians, however, found that to be no longer the case. The Greeks who had already supplanted the Phœnicians in the political dominion and maritime commerce of the Levant, began to invade the western part of the Mediterranean.

Masters of Southern Italy and the greater part of Sicily, they now sent their ships westward, in order to found colonies and extend their commerce. Coleus of Samos had, in 640, revealed to the Greeks the riches of Bætica, long concealed by the jealous policy of the Tyrians. In 600 the Phocæans founded Marseilles. The tide of Hellenic colonisation now set in the direction of Spain and Gaul.

If this movement had been continued, and successfully carried out, the maritime and colonial power which Carthage had undertaken to establish was at an end. The great Phœnician republic, on the African coast could not allow of such rivalry in its own seas, and where all its energies had been employed. At any cost, the Greeks must be excluded from the west of the Mediterranean. Thus began by land and sea the great and long-continued struggle between the Hellenic and Carthaginian races, of which the Punic wars of Rome were but, as we may say, the last act.

2. The Carthaginians began the struggle, and the first contest took place about 550 B.C. To put a stop effectually to any extension of the Greeks towards the west, they resolved to carry the war into Sicily, and to destroy, or at least to weaken, their power in this island, so situated as to command a great part of the Mediterranean.

Hanno had been succeeded in the command of the military forces of the Republic by Malchus, who was the organiser of the army, and had subdued the last of the Libyan tribes; he disembarked in Sicily at the head of a numerous army composed of Carthaginians, Liby-Phœnicians and Numidians. Unfortunately, we have no precise details of this campaign. We only know by some passages in Justin, that he in a short time made himself master of a great portion of the island; most probably of the western and central districts, driving back the Greeks to the northern and eastern parts. Scholars have collected evidence to prove that the native tribes, the Siculi and the Sicani, jealous of the progress of the Greeks, received the Carthaginians favorably. It appears that even some of the Greek towns separated themselves from the others, and sided with Malchus, particularly Selinus, where the greater part of the population had, from the time when the Tyrians ruled over all the coasts of the island, been Phœnician. This at least is the opinion of M. Brunet de Presles, the learned historian of the Greeks of Sicily.

3. The Phocæan colonies of Corsica, Gaul, and Spain threatened the supremacy of the Carthaginians in a still more direct manner than even the Greek establishments in Sicily. The accounts given by Coleus of Samos of the fertility of the valley of the Bætis, the commercial prosperity of Gades, and the treasures of the mines in Southern Spain, had wonderfully excited the cupidity of the Ionian Greeks. The land of Tartessus, the Phœnician Tarshish, became towards the end of

the seventh century, a real El Dorado, and every navigator attempted to reach it. In the year 600 B.C., a sailor of Phocæa, named Euxenes, whilst endeavouring to reach Spain, landed on the shores of Southern Gaul, not far from the mouth of the Rhone, in the country of the Salyes. Amicably received by Nann, he married the daughter of that chief, and founded the town of Massilia, or Marseilles. Two years afterwards, a new swarm of colonists, led by Protis, joined Euxenes, and Marseilles, from the very first, became a considerable and populous city. In 578, other Greeks from Asia Minor, the Rhodians and the Cnidians, attempting the same route, landed on the northern coast of Spain, and built Rhoda, now Rosas.

The enterprises of the people of Marseilles were first directed to Bætica, where they hoped to supplant the Phœnicians. They profited by the misfortunes of Tyre, and the revolt of the inhabitants of Bætica against the Canaanitish colonists. Arganthonius, chief of the Turditani, received them with marked favour, and opened to them the markets of his country.* It is true that soon after, when the Carthaginians came to the succour of Gades, and took possession of the ancient Tyrian territories, the valley of the Bætis was closed to the Greek; but they still carried on trade with the south of Spain, and on the coast of the Bastuli, near Carteia, they founded the town of Mænaca. All the maritime traffic of Phocæa, then one of the principal cities of Ionia, was then directed towards Marseilles and its colonies. A new Phocæan colony, Emporiæ (now Ampurias), was founded on the northern coast of Spain, near the Pyrenees. In 556, the Phocæans, wishing to secure a station and a harbour for their ships between Sicily and Marseilles, founded on the eastern side of the island of Cyrnus, or Corsica, in a peculiarly favourable situation, the town of Alalia, or Aleria, whence they commanded the whole of the Tyrrhenian sea, and the Gulf of Liguria.

The capture and ruin of Phocæa by Harpagus, in 542, after the conquest of Ionia by the Persians, instead of destroying the Phocæan establishments in the west, increased their importance. From a colony, Marseilles became a Metropolis. As we have already said,† the majority of the inhabitants of Phocæa, not willing to submit to a foreign yoke, expatriated themselves and settled, some at Marseilles, others at Alalia. The Massilian population being thus largely increased, was able to found new colonies to facilitate and protect their commerce. On the Spanish coast, between Emporiæ and Mænaca, they built Hemeroscopium (Dianium) and Alonis. At the foot of the Pyrenees on the Gallic side (now Roussillon), they built Pyrene (now Elne), after having destroyed the town of Ruscino (now Castel-Roussillon,

* HER. i. 163. † Page 86.

near Perpignan), its Canaanitish name clearly indicates its origin and which the Tyrians first, then the Carthaginians, had made their station; in seeking the rich mineral productions of the mountain region, especially the gold washings from the sands of the Ariege (Auraria), then bringing in a considerable revenue. Their fleet defeated the Carthaginians in several encounters,*. and for some time acquired complete supremacy in these seas.

4. The rich commerce of Spain thus threatened to pass entirely into the hands of the Massilians. There again, in the very centre of their new dominions, the Carthaginians encountered the Greeks as rivals. For them it was of the highest importance to destroy this rivalry, and they were obliged to make the greatest efforts to ruin the power of Marseilles, while yet it was insecurely established, and to destroy its settlements. In this undertaking they found natural auxiliaries in the Tyrrhenians of Etruria, who possessed a considerable fleet in their ports in Populonia, and in their settlements of Campania. The maritime Etruscans were profoundly jealous of the Phocæans of Alalia, who opposed them both in their commerce and in their piratical expeditions, and who also threatened to deprive them of their supremacy, both in the Tyrrhenian sea and the Gulf of Liguria; and they therefore had as much interest in subduing the Phocæans, as even the Carthaginians.

In 536, a large fleet of allied Etruscans and Carthaginians presented itself before Alalia. The Phocæans went out to meet them, and a great naval battle, the first recorded in the history of the western part of the Mediterranean, took place in the waters of Corsica. The Phocæans, completely defeated, soon acknowledged the impossibility of maintaining themselves in Alalia. They abandoned the town and retreated, some to Marseilles, others to Italy, where they founded the town of Velia.†

The wild and sterile mountains of Corsica had no attractions for the Carthaginians, and they allowed the Etruscans to take possession of the island,‡ merely keeping a few harbours on the coast as stations for their ships. Amongst these was Alalia, where a Phœnician sarcophagus has been found, in every way similar to those brought from Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, but made of the stone of the country.

Encouraged by this first and signal success, the Carthaginians actively pursued the Massilian navy to the coast of Spain, and attacked the Phocæan colonies in this part. They succeeded in destroying nearly all. In Spain, Hemeroscopion, Alonis and Mænaca successively fell into their power, and were razed to the ground.§ Rhoda and Emporiæ alone escaped. Pyrene was taken by the Iberi, who came

* THUCYD. i. 13; PAUSANIAS, x. 8. 4. † HER. i. 167.
‡ DIOD. SIC. v. 13. § STRABO, iii. 4. 2.

down from the mountains and allied themselves with the Carthaginians; the Greeks were driven from the city, and it received in the Iberian language, of which the Basque of our days is a last remnant, the name of Illiberis, "the new town." The Carthaginians, once more masters of the trade of Southern Gaul, fostered the power of the Liguri (Salyes) of Narbonne, in order to oppose them to the Greeks of the valley of the Rhone. The Massilians were confined to the boundaries of their city, and were even obliged to tolerate the establishment of a Carthaginian factory on the eastern side of the vast natural harbour of Marseilles, on the site where, a few years since, was built the Bourse of modern Marseilles. There was the temple of Baal, the tariff of whose sacrifices, compiled under the authority of the suffetes of Carthage, was found some years ago engraven on a block of stone from Cassis, thus showing that it was executed at Marseilles. This state of things lasted till 474, the period when Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, by his naval victory at Cumæ, destroyed the Etruscan navy, re-established the superiority of the Greeks in the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Gulf of Liguria, and the Gulf of Lyons, and thus enabled Marseilles to recommence a new and prosperous career.

SECTION VII.—DISASTER IN SARDINIA—REBELLION OF MALCHUS—MAGO RESTORES THE PROSPERITY OF THE REPUBLIC. (535–515.)

1. THE Tyrians had contented themselves with possessing a few factories on the coast of Sardinia. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, having determined to create a vast colonial empire, resolved to take complete possession of this great island, which they might expect to preserve by means of their fleet; from its fertile lands they expected to derive abundant supplies of corn, and from its silver mines an inexhaustible supply of money. Malchus, the conqueror of Sicily, was charged with the conduct of this expedition. He failed, however; and the disaster, as we learn from Justin, brought about serious political troubles at Carthage.

2. According to this abbreviator of the learned and careful Trogus Pompeius, the rejoicings of the Carthaginians, at the news of the success of their arms in Sicily, were soon terminated by a terrible pestilence that carried off numerous victims both in the city and all their African territories. The Carthaginians, seeing in this visitation an unequivocal sign of the anger of the gods, attempted to appease them by human sacrifices, after the terrible custom which the colonists had brought from Phœnicia. Justin, in recording this fact, is of opinion that such an atrocity, instead of appeasing the anger of the gods

towards the Carthaginians, did but draw down upon themselves new misfortunes.

"The hatred of the gods," says he, "followed such crimes. Conquerors in Sicily, the Carthaginians turned towards Sardinia. There, by a terrible defeat, they lost the greater part of their army. This reverse was ascribed to Malchus; and this general, unjustly accused, was banished together with the remnant of his conquered army. Indignant at this severity, the soldiers sent deputies to Carthage, first to solicit permission to return, and a pardon for their defeat, and afterwards to declare that what was refused to their entreaty they would obtain by force of arms. Prayers and threats were equally disdained. They embarked, and appeared in arms before the city. There they swore, both by gods and men, that they had come to recover, not to subjugate, their country, and to show their fellow citizens that fortune, not courage, had failed them in the late battles. All communication was cut off, and the besieged town was soon reduced to despair."

"However, Carthalo, son of the exiled general, on his return from Tyre, where the Carthaginians had sent him to offer to Hercules (Melkarth) the tenth of the booty that Malchus had made in Sicily, passed near the camp of his father, and being called before him answered that, before obeying the private duty of a son, he must fulfil the religious mission imposed on him. Although offended at this refusal, Malchus would not outrage the majesty of the gods in the person of his son. But a few days after, Carthalo having obtained leave from the nation, returned to his father, and showed himself to all eyes, covered with the sacerdotal purple, and arrayed in the sacrificial bandelettes. Malchus took his son on one side, and reproached him with the insult he had offered to himself and his brave soldiers by coming amongst them, attired in luxury, to mock their misfortunes. He reminded him of his audacious refusal, a few days ago, to appear before him; and, forgetting his paternal relation, and remembering only his quality of general, he caused his unhappy son, appareled in all his ornaments, to be fixed to a lofty cross in sight of the city.

"After some days, Malchus obtained possession of Carthage, assembled the people, complained of the unjust exile that had obliged him to have recourse to arms, and, declaring himself contented with his victory, confined himself to punishing the authors of this disaster, and pardoned the others for having unjustly banished him. He then caused ten senators to be put to death, and restored to the city its laws. But soon, accused of aspiring to absolute power and of wishing to overthrow the constitution, he was arrested and executed by order of the Senate, and thus expiated the double crime committed against his son and against his country." *

* JUSTIN, xviii. 7.

3. Mago, who appears to have been the son of the first Hanno, and who is confounded with him by many ancient historians, was then charged with the command of the troops. He completely reorganised and re-established their discipline. Mago was a distinguished politician, as well as a warrior; his descendants for several generations inherited his talents, and no family contributed more to the glory of Carthage.

In a few years, Mago restored the prosperity of the republic. He began by putting down the revolts that had broken out among some of the Libyan tribes during the rebellion of Malchus, and thus consolidating the empire of Carthage in Africa. Then, attacking Sardinia, he avenged the check the Punic arms had received some years before. The Sardinians were defeated, and the greater part of the island conquered A few tribes, inhabiting the mountainous and inaccessible portion of the country, alone remained for a time independent, and necessitated fresh campaigns in order to subdue them, which, however, was finally done. Carthage immediately established her colonial system in Sardinia, and encouraged the progress of agriculture among the natives. By this well-considered government, Sardinia attained to a greater degree of prosperity than it has since enjoyed. The island, now so thinly populated, so wild and unhealthy, was, when the Romans took possession of it, after three centuries of the Carthaginian dominion, covered with towns, thickly peopled, admirably cultivated, and both rich and flourishing.

In order to complete the chain of strategical positions securing to Carthage the exclusive dominion of all the western part of the Mediterranean basin, Mago occupied the different islands of the Balearic group, where, till this period, Ebusus (now Iviça), formerly Tyrian, was the only Carthaginian possession. The Balearic Isles henceforth supplied Carthage with excellent light troops for their armies, and more especially slingers, who were renowned for their skill. In the island of Minorca the Carthaginian general founded a town, afterwards one of the principal stations of the republican fleet, and still in our days called by the name of its founder, but slightly altered, Port Mago, now Mahon.

SECTION VIII.—PROGRESS OF COLONISATION AND COMMERCE BEYOND THE PILLARS OF HERCULES—GREAT EXPLORING EXPEDITIONS—VOYAGES OF HANNO AND HIMILCO. (515—510.)

1. THE wars in Sardinia were contemporary with the destruction of the Phocæan colonies on the Spanish coast. In consequence of the struggles it had sustained, and more especially in consequence of the

exploits of Mago, Carthage had now reached the culminating point of its power, and a degree of prosperity beyond which it never advanced; and the attempt even to maintain this position was soon to cost the most serious struggles. Without rivals and in uncontested supremacy, it reigned over half the Mediterranean. The traffic of Northern Africa, Spain, Sardinia, and the South of Gaul was all in Carthaginian hands.

An enormous increase of commerce and navigation was the immediate result of the events that had brought about this state of things. That part of the Mediterranean which was subject to Carthage was not a theatre sufficiently large for the enterprise of its merchants and sailors. The ships of the Punic city passed the Pillars of Hercules, and began to explore the Atlantic, where, but with a less degree of hardihood, the Tyrians had already preceded them. This is the date of the colonisation of the western coast of what is now Morocco, from the straits of Gibraltar to Cape Nun, and of the revival of the commerce, more actively than ever, with the British Isles. It was also the period of the great maritime discoveries of Carthage, inaugurated by the celebrated voyages of Hanno and Himilco, two personages who must be clearly distinguished from their namesakes, the son of the first Hamilcar, and the grandson of Mago.

2. We possess a Greek version of the official account of the voyage of Hanno along the African coast, which was deposited in the temple of Baal-Hamon at Carthage. Many commentaries have been made upon it by learned men, and it has given rise to the most opposite opinions as to how far southward the Carthaginian admiral sailed. We consider that M. Charles Müller has been most successful in deciding this question, and in his conclusions we fully concur. It may be interesting to our readers to transcribe here this valuable account, the only historical Carthaginian document of any extent that we possess.

"It was decreed by the Carthaginians that Hanno should undertake a voyage round the Pillars of Hercules, and found Liby-Phœnician cities. He sailed accordingly with sixty fifty-oared galleys, and a body of men and women to the number of thirty thousand, with provisions and other necessaries.

"When we had passed the Pillars on our voyage, and had sailed beyond them for two days, we founded the first city, which we named Thymiaterium. Below it lay an extensive plain. Proceeding thence towards the west, we came to Soloeis (Cape Cantin), a promontory of Libya, a place thickly covered with trees, where we erected a temple to Neptune; and again proceeded, for the space of half a day, towards the east, until we arrived at a lake lying not far from the sea, and filled with abundance of reeds. Here elephants and a great number of other wild animals were feeding.

"Having passed the lake about a day's sail, we founded cities near the sea, called The Carian Wall (Aguz), Gytte (Mogador), and Acra (Agadeer), Melitta (Messa), and Arambys (Aranas).

"Thence we came to the great river Lixus, which flows from Libya. On its banks the Lixitæ, a shepherd tribe, were feeding flocks, amongst whom we continued for some time on friendly terms. Beyond the Lixitæ dwelt the inhospitable Ethiopians, who pasture a wild country intersected by large mountains, from which they say the river Lixus flows. In the neighbourhood of the mountains lived the Troglodytæ, men of strange shape, whom the Lixitæ described as swifter in running than horses (probably great anthropomorphic apes, such as chimpanzees or gorillas).

"Taking interpreters from among them, we coasted along a desert country towards the south two days. Thence we proceeded towards the east the course of a day. Here we found, in a recess of a certain bay, a small island, containing a circle of five stadia, where we settled a colony, and called it Cerne. We judged from our voyage that this place lay in a direct line with Carthage, for the length of our voyage from Carthage to the Pillars was equal to that from the Pillars to Cerne.

"We then came to a lake, which we reached by sailing up a large river, called Curetes (River St. John). This lake had three islands larger than Cerne; from which, proceeding a day's sail, we came to the extremity of the lake, that was overhung by large mountains, inhabited by savage men, clothed in the skins of wild beasts, who drove us away by throwing stones, and hindered us from landing. Sailing thence, we came to another river that was large and broad and full of crocodiles and river-horses (the Senegal); whence, returning back, we came again to Cerne.

"Thence we sailed towards the south twelve days, coasting the shore, the whole of which is inhabited by Ethiopians, who would not wait for our approach, but fled from us. Their language was not intelligible even to the Lixitæ who were with us. Towards the last day we approached some large mountains covered with trees, the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated (Cape Verd). Having sailed by these mountains for two days, we came to an immense opening of the sea (the Gambia), on each side of which, towards the continent, was a plain, from which we saw by night fire arising at intervals in all directions, either more or less."

Hanno set out on his voyage in the beginning of spring, and at that season of the year the inhabitants of the African coast are in the habit of burning the parched up shrubs to fertilise the soil. The fire frequently spreads over a very large area, and this custom is now very well known, though no doubt the Carthaginians, who did not know the cause of what they saw, were much alarmed.

"Having taken in water there, we sailed forwards five days near the land, until we came to a large bay, which our interpreters informed us was called the Western Horn (the gulf into which run the Rio Geba and the Rio Grande). In this was a large island, and in the island a salt-water lake, and in this another island (Orango), where, when we landed, we could discover nothing in the day-time except trees, but in the night we saw many fires burning, and heard the sound of pipes, cymbals, drums, and of confused shouts. We were then afraid, and our diviners ordered us to abandon the island."

Very many travellers have mentioned the inclination of the natives of this coast for dancing and singing, and also that, in consequence of the intense heat by day, they indulge in their pastimes by night. These facts were, of course, unknown to the Carthaginians, and the circumstance caused them some superstitious alarm. But the insertion of this fact in the narrative must lead us to place great confidence in the accurate observation and truthfulness of the narrator.

"Sailing quickly away thence, we passed by a country burning with fires and perfumes, and streams of fire supplied thence fell into the sea. The country was impassable on account of the heat. We sailed quickly thence, being much terrified, and passing for four days, we discovered at night a country full of fire. In the middle was a lofty fire, larger than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars. When day came, we discovered it to be a large hill, called the Chariot of the Gods (Mount Sangarei, on the Sierra Leone coast). On the third day after our departure thence, having sailed by those streams of fire, we arrived at a bay, called the Southern Horn (the Gulf of Sherboro), at the bottom of which lay an island like the former, having a lake, and in this lake another island full of savage people, the greater part of whom were women, whose bodies were hairy, and whom our interpreters called Gorillæ. Though we pursued the men, we could not seize any of them; but all fled from us, escaping over the precipices, and defending themselves with stones. Three women were, however, taken; but they attacked their conductors with their teeth and hands, and could not be prevailed on to accompany us. Having killed them, we flayed them, and brought their skins with us to Carthage. We did not sail farther on, our provisions failing us."

The wild men found by Hanno and his companions in the island of Sherboro were those large and formidable anthropomorphic apes still so numerous at Gabon, called gorillas by our naturalists, in consequence of an erroneous reading, for the name of Gorgon, or Gorgades, in the manuscript of the Periplus.

3. Whilst Hanno thus explored the coast of Africa as far as the eighth degree of latitude, Himilco, also sent by the Carthaginian senate, passed the Pillars of Hercules, and voyaged on the Atlantic in the

opposite direction; he reconnoitred the western coasts of Spain and of Gaul, as far as the British Isles. The Carthaginians wished to re-open the trade with this tin-producing country, once so much frequented by the Tyrians, and where now only a few small vessels from Gades went, and by a route but little known. Himilco's was not properly speaking a voyage of discovery, but an hydrographical and commercial exploration, similar to those still despatched by the nations of modern Europe to the coasts of those countries with whom they wish to extend their relations.

Unfortunately, the report of Himilco is lost, and this is the more to be regretted, as he could have given valuable information as to the state of a considerable portion of France and Britain, at a period when history is silent. Some few fragments alone have been translated and inserted into the Latin poem of Festus Avienus.

This voyage lasted four months, for they dared not venture into the open sea and take the direct route to the British Isles; they coasted along the shores, and so near in, that the progress of the ships was often retarded by shallows and by reeds. Whales, then abundant in the Bay of Biscay, were frequently seen. It was not till the beginning of the Middle Ages that the Basque fishermen drove them thence.

Between Gades and the Promontorium Sacrum (Cape St. Vincent), there were a great many Phœnician colonies founded during the period of Tyrian prosperity. None were met with on the western or northern coast of Spain, but the inhabitants were friendly to the Carthaginians, and they found several ports open to them. This was not the case on the inhospitable shores of the Bay of Biscay, the navigation was dangerous, and they were obliged to steer directly for the country of the Namnetes (Nantes). There the ships which had set out from either Gades or Carthage, found, at the mouth of the Loire, a safe port where they could take shelter, and refit and revictual before continuing their voyage. Moreover, the productions of all Central Gaul, watered by the Loire and its tributaries, arrived in quantities among the Namnetes, by way of the river. Their city, therefore, was the seat of a large trade, and possessed an exceptional importance from its having been frequented by Canaanitish merchants and traders from Gades, ever since the supremacy of the seas had been acquired by Tyre. Coasting along the shores of Armorica, they voyaged from the country of the Namnetes to the Veneti (Vannes), where they stopped for the last time before setting out into the open sea. A considerable trade was carried on there also; and the example, first of the Tyrians, then of the Carthaginians, had soon taught the inhabitants the art of navigation.

The Veneti possessed great riches, and, in later times, Cæsar found them in possession of a large and well-equipped fleet, such as no other Gallic nation possessed. From the Gulf of Morbihan the vessels

reached the island of Sena, or Sein, celebrated in Druidical traditions, and thence sailed directly for the Cassiterides (the Scilly Islands), off the coast of Cornwall, rich in mines of all sorts of metals, and more particularly tin. The inhabitants of these islands, numerous and industrious, occupied themselves exclusively with commerce, and went to sea in canoes covered with skins.

In two days' voyage from these shores, they reached the Holy Island, inhabited by the Hibernians (Ireland), and in a still shorter time they reached the coasts of the island of Albion (England). The advantages of this situation half-way between Ireland and England, and the wish to avoid the always difficult navigation of the Channel, had made the Tyrians choose the Scilly Isles as the limit of their voyages in this direction, and this was still the case in the times of Himilco. Native boats brought these metals from neighbouring countries, and the Canaanitish merchants gave in exchange various sorts of merchandise, principally tissues; bronze arms, pottery, and salt.

4. The voyage of Himilco was the signal for recommencing commerce with the British Isles, and this on a much larger scale than before, and the route, now well known, was followed by numerous vessels. This traffic continued till the commencement of the decline of the power of Carthage, in consequence of the struggle between her and the Greeks of Sicily. The Carthaginians, unlike their predecessors from Tyre and Gades, soon ceased to be content with stopping at the Cassiterides. They sought metals direct from the coast of Cornwall; and Strabo records that commerce with foreign merchants became so constant, as to exercise an important influence on the manners of the people of the country. They also frequented the Irish ports, for all traditions of that island speak of considerable Phœnician settlements founded there, and the commercial relations introduced the use of the Canaanitish alphabet of twenty-two letters among the Hibernians.

The expedition of Hanno was equally fruitful. As soon as he returned, fresh troops of Liby-Phœnicians were transported to the fertile regions, where he had established his colonies, and the whole country, from the Straits to Cape Nun, was colonised. Nearly 300 towns were built on the coast, and some even inland. But these towns did not exist very long. Receiving no succour from the metropolis during the Sicilian wars, they were nearly all taken and destroyed by the natives. The most important, including those founded by Hanno, were Tingis (Tangier), Zilia (Azala), Lixus (El Araish), Mulelacha (Muley Bu Selham), Sala (Sallee), Hermæum (Fedala), Pœna (Dar el Beida), Rusibis (Mazagan), and Gannarium (Agoulon), all localities now belonging to Morocco.

The colony in Cerne, or the Isle of Arguin, became of great consequence. Every year a merchant fleet arrived there, and a great fair

was held on the mainland, just opposite the island. The natives described by Scylax as shepherds with black skins, long hair, and of a good height, horsemen and skilled marksmen (undoubtedly Tuariks), also flocked there. Commerce was carried on by means of barter. The Carthaginians brought articles of women's dress and ornaments, horse trappings, vases of chased metal, pottery, Egyptian wine and linen; the natives exchanged for these, elephants' teeth, hides, wool, and the skins of wild animals. This contact with the Carthaginian merchants so far civilised them that they abandoned their nomadic life, and built themselves a town near Cerne. The factory established by Hanno, in addition to commerce, also carried on very lucrative fisheries. The fish were salted and sent to Carthage, where, it is said, they were held in such estimation that exportation was forbidden.

The Carthaginian vessels and merchants also began regularly to frequent the coast beyond the Island of Arguin, at least as far as Senegal, where are the auriferous districts, and perhaps even to Sierra Leone or Dahomey. A curious passage in Herodotus evidently refers to these equatorial regions of Africa. "The Carthaginians also relate the following:—There is a country in Libya, and a nation beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which they are wont to visit, where they no sooner arrive but forthwith they unlade their wares, and, having disposed them after an orderly fashion along the beach, leave them, and, returning aboard their ships, raise a great smoke. The natives, when they see the smoke, come down to the shore, and, laying out to view so much gold as they think the worth of the wares, withdraw to a distance; the Carthaginians upon this come ashore and look. If they think the gold enough, they take it and go their way; but if it does not seem to them sufficient, they go aboard ship once more, and wait patiently. Then the others approach and add to their gold, till the Carthaginians are content. Neither party deals unfairly by the other: for they themselves never touch the gold till it comes up to the worth of their goods. Nor do the natives ever carry off the goods till the gold is taken away."*

This singular method of commerce is still practised by certain negro tribes.

5. Whilst thus frequenting the western coasts of Africa, the Carthaginians could hardly fail to discover the Canary Islands. The name of Junonia, given by Ptolemy to Lancerota, is sufficient proof that they had a colony there; for Tanith, the great goddess of Carthage, is identified with Juno by the Greeks and Romans. But they spread the strangest and most frightful reports of these islands, as they did of all the countries where they alone traded, in order to prevent other nations from attempting to visit them. This is proved by the fantastic descrip-

* HER. iv. 196.

tion that Festus Avienus, from Carthaginian authority, gives of Teneriffe, its volcano and its earthquakes. "Beyond the Pillars of Hercules," says he, "is an island in the midst of the ocean, rich in herbs, and consecrated to Saturn (the Baal Hamon of Carthage). Nature there shows herself under a formidable aspect; for when a vessel approaches the island, the waves of the sea surrounding it rise with fury, and, shaking the island itself, make it tremble with terror, whilst the ocean remains calm as a lake." According to an express statement by Scylax, it appears that the Carthaginians attempted to proceed further west, and arrived as far as the "Sargasso Sea;" but the enormous mass of weeds that covered the surface of the waves made them fear to venture farther, and they retraced their way, leaving to Christopher Columbus the glory of discovering the new world.

Diodorus gives very exact details of a large and admirably fertile island, watered by large brooks, discovered about the same time by the Carthaginian navigators (before the Sicilian wars), in the Western Ocean. He gives, from their historian's account, a long and poetical description of it, and from several characteristic traits we recognise in it the Island of Madeira. The report of the discovery of this favoured island having reached other nations, the Etruscans tried to take possession of it; but the Carthaginians opposed them, and with their characteristic jealousy closely watched the shores. They looked upon it, it is said, as a refuge whither they could retire, if ever their city fell in war, just as the Tyrians had retired to Carthage. In the meanwhile, as the island was uninhabited, they sent colonists there, who prospered.* After the fall of Carthage, Gades still carried on a trade with this island till the time of Sertorius. It is even said that this great man, during the time of his misfortunes, seeing a vessel returning from this island, was thinking of seeking a refuge there, when he was assassinated by Perpenna.

SECTION IX.—HASDRUBAL, SON OF MAGO—FIRST TREATY OF ROME WITH CARTHAGE—PREPARATIONS FOR THE SICILIAN WAR (535—500).

1. MAGO died shortly after the submission of Sardinia, and left two sons, Hasdrubal and Hamilcar, who became even more famous than their father. The eldest, Hasdrubal, succeeded him in the general command of the troops. He was for eleven years at the head of the military forces of the republic as suffete, and completed their organi-

* ARISTOTLE, *De Mirab. Auscul.*, lxxxv.

sation; he took possession of the island of Lipari, the key to the Straits of Messina and of the coast of Southern Italy, and was finally killed, about 520 B.C., in Sardinia, where he was completing the conquests of those portions of the island that still remained independent. His brother, Hamilcar, succeeded to his command.

During the period of Hasdrubal's exploits, Carthage was for a time threatened by a great danger. Cambyses, the conqueror of Egypt, wished to make an expedition, in order to subdue the flourishing republic, whose riches tempted his insatiable cupidity. We have already related* how the realisation of this project was defeated, by the refusal of that portion of his fleet furnished by the Phœnician cities to fight against the daughter of Tyre.

2. The Carthaginians carried on an active commerce with Italy, and, according to the custom of maritime nations of antiquity, committed extensive piracies along its coasts. The position of the country, the fertility of the soil, and the riches of the inhabitants, all seemed to invite them there; but they did not succeed in forming colonies. From the north to the south of the Italian peninsula the shores were occupied by seafaring and commercial tribes — Etruscans, Romans or Latins, and Greeks—who knew their own interest too well to allow the Carthaginians to effect a settlement. As they were always seeking for an opportunity of gaining a footing, and in the meantime infested all the shores with their pirate vessels, the Etruscans and Romans attempted to make treaties with them, to bind themselves and the Carthaginians reciprocally to renounce piracy in, and not to try to establish colonies on, each other's territories.

A great number of treaties made with the Etruscans, spoken of by Aristotle, have not been preserved: But Polybius† records the text of the first treaty between the Carthaginians and Romans, in 509 B.C., a year after the expulsion of the Tarquins, under the consulate of Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius. Polybius translated into Greek the original Latin, as nearly as he could; "for," says he, "the Latin tongue of those days was so different from that of our times, that the most learned are troubled to interpret this old language."

"Between the Romans and their allies, on the one hand, and the Carthaginians and their allies, on the other, there shall be alliance on the following conditions:—

"Neither the Romans nor their allies shall navigate beyond Cape Bon, unless driven there by tempest, or forced by their enemies. In case of their being forced thither against their will, they must neither buy nor take anything there but what is strictly necessary for the refitting of their vessels, or for sacrificing to the gods, and at the end of

* Page 98. † iii. 22.

five days they must leave. Those who come to trade there shall conclude no negotiation unless in the presence of a crier and a registrar. Thus shall it be for all that is sold in Africa or in Sardinia. If Romans land in the portion of Sicily subject to the Carthaginians, they shall enjoy there the same privileges as the Carthaginians.

"The Carthaginians, on their side, shall in no way disturb the Antiates, the Ardeates, the Laurentines, the Circeans, the Terracinians, or any other Latin nation subject to the Romans. Even if there should be some not under Roman dominion, the Carthaginians shall not attack their towns; should they take one, they shall restore it intact to the Romans. They shall build no fortress in the country of the Latins. If they enter the country armed, they shall not pass the night there."

This treaty, remarkable both for simplicity and precision, proves that under the consulate of the first Brutus there were Romans who applied themselves to commerce, that they knew the value of a navy, that the employment of merchant vessels was common amongst them, and that since they went as far as Carthage, they must have made tolerably long voyages. The prow of a ship engraven on the earliest Roman coins was, therefore, not an empty symbol; and M. Momensen was right in stating that maritime commerce had a much greater part than was usually supposed in the first period of Roman history under the kings. At the same time, the precautions taken to prevent the Carthaginians from gaining access to Latium proves how great was the apprehension of seeing them settled there.

3. The latter years of the sixth century were years of peace for Carthage. It was at this period that the republic, seeing the manner in which Barca had been treated by Aryandes, satrap of Egypt, sent a tribute to Darius, son of Hystaspes, and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Persian king. This submission, considering the distance separating them, was merely nominal, and led to no results.

These years of peace were employed in extensive preparations for war, under the direction of Hamilcar. The Carthaginians meditated the complete conquest of Sicily, and the final expulsion of the Greeks. Thus, when at the commencement of the Median wars the Achæmenian monarchs proposed to them to combine their operations in that island with those they themselves were to undertake in Greece, and so attack the Hellenic race on two sides at once, and crush it by the coalition of all the forces of the Eastern world, the Carthaginians joyfully accepted the proposition, and the great wars in Sicily began at the same time as the Median wars.

The plan of this Manual obliges us, however, to stop here, at the commencement of the period best known in Carthaginian history. We must remain content with having related the story of that period least

generally known, and with having described the gradual rise of a power which in history we generally first meet with, completely constituted, and in possession of enormous resources.

CHAPTER VI.

INSTITUTIONS AND MANNERS OF CARTHAGE.

SECTION I.—GOVERNMENT.

1. GREEK and Roman authors are our sole sources of information as to the government of Carthage. The ideas that they give us on the subject are very incomplete, more especially as they have recorded none of the original appellations of the different magistrates of this great city, with the exception of that of the suffetes; we are, therefore, obliged to use the Greek names; but even under this disguise, it is still possible to recognise the chief springs of the governmental mechanism, and the spirit pervading its organisation. Founded by the emigrants of the aristocratic party from Tyre, Carthage always remained faithful to aristocratic forms of government. Like Rome, when the struggle began between them, it was a great aristocratic republic. The aristocracy of Carthage was not, however, hereditary; in general, persons were admitted to this class merely from a property qualification. "They think (at Carthage)," says Aristotle,* "that the magistrates in the community should not be chosen by family only, but by fortune also." Besides, as no profit was derived from magisterial offices, which naturally occasioned great expense, the rich alone were enabled to aspire to them. And, as in an essentially commercial state, fortunes were variable, the Carthaginian aristocracy was constantly receiving fresh accessions. But political power and influence were perpetuated in those families where riches were supplemented by great talents and remarkable civic virtues, and popular favour was secured to certain family names. Thus the families of Mago, Hanno the Great, and Barca furnished the republic for many generations with ministers of state, magistrates, and generals. Notwithstanding the power and influence of these families, the constitution of Carthage never became completely aristocratic; the monarchical and popular elements were both represented, the one by two suffetes, the other by the assembly of the people.

* *Politics* ii. 11.

2. The suffetes (*shophetim*), very properly compared with the kings of Sparta and with the consuls of Rome, differed from both, inasmuch as this dignity was neither hereditary in two families, as at Sparta, nor yet filled by annual election, as at Rome. They were, in general, chosen from among the great families of the republic, or the most influential members of the senate; but their election required to be ratified by the people. The suffetes exercised great influence, and had great authority. Though they sometimes took the command of the land and sea forces, this office did not necessarily belong to them; and we are led, on the contrary, to think that the civil administration was more peculiarly the province of the suffetes. They presided over the senate, and directed its deliberations. Their exact functions are, however, but little known, as is also the duration of their office; it would seem, however, that the suffetes were elected for life.

Next to the suffetes, the generals occupied the first rank in the republic. The senate—or after the organisation of the Council of the Hundred, that section of the senate—usually nominated the generals, but the selection required to be ratified by a popular vote. Sometimes the army itself proclaimed a general; but this irregular nomination was subject to the sanction of the senate and people.

The Carthaginians appointed some members of the senate to accompany the generals, who, furnished with plenary powers, treated of the affairs of state, and contracted alliances, but left to the general-in-chief the uncontrolled direction of all military operations. His was the greatest responsibility; and it was not unusual, at the close of a campaign, to see the general punished by death for the mistakes he had made and the reverses he had experienced. "In the nominations of the generals, as well as of the kings (suffetes)," says Aristotle, "the Carthaginians looked for two things, reputation and wealth."

3. But the real power belonged to the senate, a permanent assembly, composed of men who had amassed a certain amount of fortune. Formed on the model of that of Tyre,* it was also composed of 300 members, representing the three tribes of which the citizens were composed. This senate exercised the same power as the Roman senate. All foreign affairs were managed by this body. The suffetes presided over, and made their reports to, the senate; it received ambassadors, deliberated on state affairs, and decided on war or peace, although, as a matter of form, the ratification of the decision was sometimes referred to the people.

The Carthaginian senate thus possessed all the attributes of sovereign assemblies—legislative power, and the supreme direction of the government; and, moreover, by its committees, exercised the most important

* See MOVERS' *Phönizisches Alterthum*, tom. i. p. 481—508.

part of the executive power. The principal committee was permanent, and consisted of thirty members, ten senators from each tribe; it regulated the proceedings of the senate, prepared for the deliberations, and subjected the measures proposed for discussion to a preliminary examination before they were presented to the general assembly. This committee was usually chosen to conduct the more important international negotiations. Superior to this was a Council of Ten, elected by the senate itself from amongst its members. This council controlled the acts of the suffetes, watched over all parts of the administration, and constituted the real and constantly-directing authority, compared to which the power of the suffetes, nominally very great, was in reality as nothing. It is evident that it was the members of this council whom Malchus caused to be put to death, after he had taken Carthage by storm.

This was the original organisation, brought from Tyre by the founders of Carthage. In later times, the existence of the Committee of the Thirty and the Council of the Ten was not sufficient to please the overbearing jealousy of the aristocracy. "The family of Mago," says Justin, "seemed to menace liberty by its too great power; a hundred judges were therefore chosen from among the senators, who, on the return of the generals, demanded an account of their conduct, in order to see that they had conformed to the laws of the country." The Council of the Hundred became permanent, and was one of the essential parts of the system of government. To distinguish it from the general assembly of the senate, it was by Greek writers called *Gerusia*. It was a supreme tribunal, controlling the police of the state, sitting in judgment on magistrates and generals; even the suffetes were subject to its jurisdiction. "Such a tribunal," says Heeren, "is entirely in accordance with the spirit of an aristocratic republic, where the police is the principal stay of the government; but, as at Venice, it degenerates but too easily into espionage and tyranny." This also happened at Carthage. The Gerusia finally reserved to themselves the knowledge of all important business, and assumed the right of deciding all important questions. In the latter days of the republic it became an intolerable oppression, and Hannibal reformed it by force.

Heeren compares Venice to Carthage, and a very curious parallel may be drawn between these two great mercantile and warlike republics, the one belonging to the ancient world, the other to the Middle Ages. They played similar parts, had equal maritime and colonial power, and the same spirit pervaded both their constitutions. Thus the same conditions of life, and similar aristocratic principles, produced governments of exactly similar organisation. The Doge, the sovereign for life, watched and restrained by the punctilious precautions of aristocratic jealousy; the senate, with its Council of Ten, invested with supreme

and dictatorial authority, superior to that of the Doge, who bowed before it; and, lastly, the State Inquisition in Venice, present so faithful and perfect a picture of the Carthaginian government, that did we not know that those who formed the constitution of the Queen of the Adriatic were ignorant of that of Carthage, we might have imagined it to be but a careful copy of the example of the great rival of Rome.

4. There were also at Carthage popular assemblies, not of the whole nation, but only of the "Optimate families" or citizens, who possessed a sufficient amount of property to entitle them to the enjoyment of political rights. In some cases the intervention of this assembly was necessary. When the superior powers—the senate and committees on one hand, the suffetes on the other—could not agree, the people decided. Thus the popular assembly could only approve or reject the propositions made to it; and it does not appear that in any case it had the right to take the initiative.

In later days, it is true, there was a numerous and powerful popular party, with its representatives in the senate, exercising great influence in public affairs, supporting the family of Barca against their adversaries, and keeping them long in power. But this party appears to have been unable to carry out the revolution it had conceived. Far from consolidating the power of Carthage by securing the regular intervention of the people in the government, it added a new cause of disorder to those already existing, and hastened the fall of the republic.

5. Speaking of the government of Carthage, it is hardly possible to pass over in silence those political meetings generally followed by feasts, designated by the Greek authors by the name of *syssitia*.* "The Carthaginians," says Theodorus Metochites, an old historian, "discussed business at night, and for this cause assembled in company in the evening." This institution of political associations may somewhat remind us of our modern English clubs. At these meetings the projects for laws and decrees to be submitted to the assembly were most probably prepared and discussed. According to Polybius, it is certain that the nobles often came to resolutions in secret, and not in the regular assemblies. On several occasions, the clubs of Carthage seem to have exercised considerable influence on political affairs.

6. The strength of the Roman organisation, that which secured its long duration, was the policy adopted by the senate with respect to conquered nations, and the manner in which they were connected with the metropolis. This consisted in forming them into one vast polity, where each enjoyed certain rights and certain advantages, bringing them more or less near to the condition of the governing people; and thus was formed that powerful unity which built up the grandeur and

* See ARISTOTLE, *Polit.* ii. 11.

solidity of the empire. Carthage might thus have bound the conquered nations each one to the other, and all to the metropolis; but, on the contrary, it appears that in its subjects it saw only a source, more or less productive, not of power, but of wealth.

Instead of conferring on them rights and privileges, it treated them in general with great severity, imposing, and rigorously levying heavy tributes. The governors appointed over subject town and provinces, generally possessed both military and civil power, and were enjoined above all to procure large sums for the treasury. The cultivators of the soil were not much better treated by their masters, for, on several occasions, the half of their revenue was demanded from them. A modern historian justly observes, that, to understand all the oppression of this mercantile tyranny, we must turn to the government of Venice, read the statutes of the official Inquisitors, and be acquainted with the despotic manner in which the Spanish monopoly was exercised at Peru, where articles unsaleable in Europe, were imported, and the poor Indians compelled to purchase the refuse of Madrid. It is, therefore, not surprising, that as soon as an enemy set foot on African soil, the towns and villages immediately rose in revolt, and joined the invaders. The successes of Agathocles in Africa, of the Romans at the commencement of the Punic war, are easily explained by the state of permanent discontent to which the nations subject to the republic were driven.

The government of Carthage was just as severe and tyrannical with respect to its colonies; obliging them now to buy, and now to sell, condemning them to close their ports to foreign merchants, and to seek in those of Carthage the products of distant countries; and this odious monopoly gained for them those immense riches which, though for a time they increased the power of the republic, yet in the end led to its ruin. "Rome," says Heeren, "had founded its greatness on a rock, whilst that of its rival rested on a golden sand."

7. The number of Carthaginian citizens who served in the armies was never considerable. The tributary nations of Africa, all called by Polybius, Libyans, were the flower of the troops. They fought on horseback, or on foot, and formed the heavy armed cavalry and infantry. They at one time carried long pikes, but Hannibal, after the battle of Trasimene, armed them in the Roman fashion.

But the major portion of all Carthaginian armies was composed of foreign mercenaries, specially Spaniards and Gauls. The Iberian soldiers were the best disciplined of all, and generally formed the infantry of the line. They wore white linen coats with red ornaments; and a large sword, adapted both for thrusting and cutting, was their principal weapon. The Gauls generally acted as a sort of forlorn hope. For the fight they stripped themselves to the waist, they carried large

bucklers, and swords of soft iron with a rounded point. The Ligurians also furnished soldiers; and from very early times Carthage employed Greek mercenaries. The Slingers came from the Balearic Isles, and excelled all the other light troops of antiquity.

The principal strength of the Carthaginian armies consisted of light cavalry, raised by the republic from among the nomadic tribes of Africa on both sides of its territory. All these tribes, from the Massylii who bordered the Carthaginian states, to the Mauri who inhabited what is now Morocco, were accustomed to fight in the armies of Carthage and to receive pay. The levy of mercenaries was made both in Africa and Europe, by senators deputed for the purpose, who penetrated into the most distant countries. The Numidian horsemen were mounted on small horses, uncaparisoned, and trained to the most rapid evolutions. A lion's or a panther's skin served them both for clothing and bed, and when they fought on foot their shield was made of elephant's skin. Their attack was terrible, on account of the swiftness of their horses, and they did not scruple to take to flight, for they fled only to prepare for a fresh onset.

The heavy cavalry was composed of Carthaginians, Libyans, Spaniards, and Gauls. It was not till later times that, following the example of the successors of Alexander, the Carthaginians employed elephants in their armies, and made them their most formidable means of attack.

SECTION II.—COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, AND AGRICULTURE.

1. WE have already mentioned the principal routes of Carthaginian commerce, whether by sea, or by caravans into the interior of Africa. This commerce, according to the Phœnician method, was conducted wholly by barter, and Carthage, till about the fourth century, had no coinage, and it was then introduced in imitation of the Greeks. The first coins were struck in Sicily during the great wars of which this island was the scene, for the pay of the mercenaries.

To supply its exports, the Carthaginians had immense factories, manufacturing all kinds of articles, for none but those coming from its own territories were exported to the foreign lands with whom they traded, and the introduction of foreign manufactures into the colonies was strictly forbidden. In return, corn, metals, and various raw materials for use in the manufactories were received. In Greece and Italy the Carthaginians sold black slaves, ivory, precious woods such as ebony, fine jewels, and tissues manufactured with much art.

The government of the republic was so jealous of the monopoly of the commerce with its colonies, so resolved at all hazards to prevent

rivalry, that the Carthaginian ships had orders to sink all strange vessels found in the waters of Sardinia, and beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

2. The passion for agriculture, amongst the Carthaginians, equalled that for commerce. The leading men of the republic made it a point of honour to cultivate their rich domains of Zeugitana and Byzacium, and made the science of agriculture their study. The Carthaginian territory everywhere abounded in magnificent plantations of vines, olive and other fruit trees. Immense meadows were seen filled with grazing herds of oxen, horses, and sheep. On all sides the fertile soil presented the appearance of high cultivation and of great natural beauty of scenery.

Section III.—Literature and Arts.

1. The Carthaginians possessed a large body of literature, but nearly all of a practical nature, such as the pursuits and habits of the nation were likely to produce. After the destruction of the city, its library was divided among the different African princes who were in alliance with the Romans. But an exception was made in favour of the famous treatise of Mago on agriculture and on rural economy, which was carried to Rome, and translated into Latin by Decimus Silanus. It was divided into twenty-eight books. All the Roman writers on agriculture, amongst others, Cato, Pliny, and Columella, have highly lauded this work, and made numerous quotations from it, proving how much it deserved the praise it received, and how much knowledge and good sense were contained in it.*

Carthage had native historians, whose works were consulted by Sallust, in the library of king Hiempsal. Unfortunately none of them have been preserved to our days. There was also a Carthaginian philosopher, named Hasdrubal, who went to Greece to study, and there took the name of Clitomachus.

2. Art was never much cultivated among this mercantile people, who were so specially busied in accumulating wealth and adding to their material prosperity. The early Carthaginian buildings and works of art were naturally constructed on Phœnician models, and were of the same style, though with less delicacy of execution. In later times, contact with the Greeks introduced into Carthage the arts of Greece, and that style was soon exclusively used there, and in nearly all cases Greek artists were employed. It was during that period only that history

* All the passages in Roman authors in which the work of Mago is cited or referred to are collected by Heeren, *Ideen*, iv. p. 527.

records the erection of considerable edifices in the Punic city, and of statues of some merit. The coins of Carthage are also of purely Greek workmanship.*

SECTION IV.—RELIGION.

1. THE Carthaginian religion was propagated by the republic in all its colonies, and was entirely Phœnician. The pair of principal *Baalim*, who were regarded as specially watching over and protecting the city, was composed of Baal-Hamon, "Baal the burning," an essentially solar deity, a fire-god, as is indicated by his name; and of Tanith, the celestial goddess, the lunar and sidereal form of the Phœnician goddess. The two largest temples in the citadel of Byrsa were consecrated to them. The Greeks and Romans called them Saturn and Juno. Worship was also addressed to Melkarth, identified by the Greeks with Hercules, the guardian deity of Tyre, who had a temple in the lower town, and was worshipped in all the foreign settlements of the Carthaginians, as formerly he had been in all the Tyrian colonies. Lastly, Esmun, the eighth and principal of the Cabirim, identified by the Greeks with their Esculapius, had an important sanctuary on the hill of Byrsa.

In later times, this religion was modified by the constant contact of the Carthaginians with the Greeks in the Sicilian wars. A temple was erected to Apollo in the market-place at Carthage, and the colossal statue was carried from it to Rome after the capture of the town. The republic even, on one occasion, sent official offerings to the sanctuary at Delphi. After the defeat of Himilco before Syracuse, the Carthaginians, attributing their misfortune to the wrath of Ceres and Proserpine, the two great divinities of the Greeks in Sicily, introduced the worship of, and raised a temple to, these deities. This worship became so important that all the coins struck at Carthage, after the fourth century, were stamped with the head of Proserpine.

In Africa there was no body of men, as in Asia, specially charged with the care of the religious traditions, and the celebration of worship. The sacerdotal functions were exercised by the first personages of the state, who aspired to them on account of the honours attached to these offices. They were particularly sought after by the sons of the suffetes, who considered the position as a first step towards the high dignities of their fathers.

2. Diodorus Siculus† gives some curious details of the colossal statue

* On the medals of Carthage, see MÜLLER, *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique*, vol. ii. pp. 68-148.

† xx. 14.

of Baal-Hamon, placed in front of the temple of that god. "It was of bronze, with outstretched arms and lowered hands with the palms upwards; its arms were inclined towards the earth, so that the children placed upon them immediately fell into a fiery gulf."

All the atrocities of the Phœnician worship were practised at Carthage, particularly the burning of children. These barbarous sacrifices took place every year, and were frightfully multiplied on the occasion of public calamities, in order to appease the wrath of the gods. In every place where the Carthaginians carried their trade and their arms, not only at fixed periods, but at all critical conjunctures, their fanaticism celebrated these horrible sacrifices. In vain Gelon of Syracuse, armed with the authority of a conqueror,—in vain, by peaceable influence, the Greeks themselves, who were settled at Carthage for commercial purposes, attempted to stop these atrocities; the ancient barbarism incessantly reappeared, and was practised even in Roman Carthage. In the beginning of the third century of our era, traces of this horrible worship were still to be found, although then practised in secret. From the year of Rome 655, human sacrifices were forbidden, but the emperors were more than once obliged to repeat the prohibition; and we must add, that for some time even the severity of Roman laws was unable to stop these hideous immolations, and Christianity alone succeeded in finally eradicating them.

END OF BOOK VI.

BOOK VII.

THE ARABIANS.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY AND ANCIENT PEOPLE OF ARABIA.

Chief Authorities.

THE BIBLE: *Books of Genesis and of the Prophet Isaiah.*—Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften altægyptischer Denkmäler.* Leipzig, 1869.—Rawlinson and Norris, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, Vols. i. and ii.—Ibn Khaldoun, *Prolégomènes Historiques, Traduction de M. Le Baron de Slane* (in course of publication).—Abulfeda, *Historia Anteislamitica* (Fleischer's Latin translation).—*The Koran.*

Pocock, *Historia imperii Vetustissimi Joctanidarum*, 1786 (A. Schultens). Pocock, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum.* Oxford, 1806.—Volney, *Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Histoire Ancienne*, Vol. i.—F. Fresnel, *Lettres sur l'Histoire des Arabes.* Paris, 1836, 1838.—Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Vol. i. Paris, 1847.—Osiander, *Zur himjarischen Alterthums und Sprachkunde.* Leipzig, 1856, 1865, 1866.

SECTION I.—PRINCIPAL DISTRICTS OF THE ARABIAN PENINSULA.

1. THE Arabian peninsula, situated between Africa and the rest of Asia, is bounded on the south-east by the Indian Ocean, and on the opposite quarter by Syria. To the north-east its variable limits generally follow the Euphrates. On the east, the Persian Gulf separates it from the country of that name, and on the west is the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea, beyond which are Egypt and Ethiopia.

This position made Arabia, to a certain extent, the centre of the region around which, in ancient times, was gathered all primitive circulation. Thus, from the remotest ages of antiquity, this country has been the road and the depôt for commerce between various nations. Its inhabitants, always in a semi-barbarous nomadic state, acted the part

of carriers across their deserts for the traffic between the civilised nations of Egypt, of the Tigro-Euphrates basin and India. Therefore, though the history of Arabia is enveloped in great obscurity, and probably will never be entirely elucidated, it is impossible to exclude this country from the annals of the civilisations of the ancient eastern world. We have, therefore, thought it necessary to devote a special book to the history of the Arabs. We shall confine ourselves to a sketch of its chief outlines, without attempting to enter into details for which we have no authority; and we shall endeavour to describe the position held in ancient times by this nation, which, in the Middle Ages, under Mahomet and his successors, achieved such great conquests as to change the face of the world, and inaugurate a new era in history.

2. The Greeks and Romans divided the Arabian peninsula into three great districts, determined by the general features of the country. To the north-west was Arabia Petræa, a region of rocky and barren mountains, where a few valleys only were fit for cultivation, and for the support of its population. It included the peninsula of Sinai, and the eastern shore of the Elamitic Gulf, now the Gulf of Akaba; to the west and south was Arabia Felix, containing all the fertile districts, and inhabited by a settled agricultural population, extending along the shore of the Red Sea, and occupying the southern part of the peninsula as far as the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Lastly, the central and eastern regions received the name of Arabia Deserta; the greater portion of this district, the largest of the three, is composed of wastes of sand where the nomade tribes wander; the desert is, however, interrupted here and there by oases, which from the earliest ages have been the centres of fixed populations.

These divisions were unknown to the Arabs, and though they are very vague, yet they may be useful when exactitude is not necessary. But the historian who would give facts in all their clearness, must prefer those more distinct and better defined limits, applied to the various districts by the Arabs themselves.

3. The long chain of mountains which runs through Palestine towards the Isthmus of Suez, and then continues in a direction nearly parallel with the Red Sea towards the southern extremity of Arabia, is called *Hejaz* (barrier), and gives its name to the country through which it passes before reaching Yemen. Hejaz, therefore, in its most extended meaning, includes Arabia Petræa, and a portion of the Arabia Felix of the ancients. This vast region is divided into four tolerably well-defined countries. First, to the north, Arabia Petræa (as we will still continue to call it, so as not to multiply names), including the two countries of the Edomites and the Midianites. Then comes Hejaz, properly so called. Its two principal towns are Yambo and Medina, the ancient Yathrib. South of this province is Tehamah (warm or sea

country), where are the cities of Mecca and Jeddah. The fourth and most southern province is Asyr, bordering on Yemen. Yemen, properly so called, is the country forming the south-western extremity of the Arabian peninsula, bounded on the west by the Red Sea, on the south by the Indian Ocean, on the north by Hejaz, on the east by Hadramaut. The principal towns of Yemen were, Mareb or Saba, long since in ruins, Yafar, Sana, Nedjran, and Aden. The name of Yemen is often applied to Southern Arabia. It then includes, besides Yemen proper, Hadramaut, and the district of Mahrah to the east of Hadramaut. Beyond Mahrah, at the south-east corner of the peninsula, is Oman, and to the north of this, Bahrein, or Ahsa, on the Persian Gulf. This latter country is also called Hejer, from its principal province. It is, however, possible to consider Ahsa and Hejer as two distinct provinces of Bahrein, the former to the north of the latter.

Nejed (the high land) is the large plateau, with here and there some inequalities of ground, that occupies all Central Arabia. It commences westward on the eastern side of the Hejaz mountains, which side appearing not so high and less rugged than the western, proves that the plateau of the interior of Arabia is at a tolerably high elevation above the level of the sea. That portion of Nejed bordering on Yemen is called the Nejed of Yemen, and the northern portion simply Nejed. These two divisions are separated by a mountainous province, called Yamama. North of Nejed is the Syrian desert, not really a part of Arabia, but where the Arab tribes now roam, having replaced the Aramæans who, in earlier ages, led there a nomadic life. North-east are the deserts of Irâk (Barriyat el Irak), bordering the fertile territory of Chaldæa on the right bank of the Euphrates, the Arphaxad of Genesis, and separating it from the cultivable portions of Arabia. Eastward, Nejed is separated from Ahsa by one of those strips of desert, called *Nefud* by the Arabs. Finally, southward stretches the vast desert of Dahna, the largest in the peninsula, of which we at present know nothing certain. It separates Nejed from Hadramaut and Mahrah. Nejed is intersected by many smaller deserts which it is necessary to cross when travelling from one of its districts to another.

SECTION II.—RACES WHO SUCCESSIVELY INHABITED ARABIA.

1. THE population of Arabia, after long centuries, more especially after the propagation and triumph of Islamism, became uniform throughout the peninsula; with the same civilisation, the same manners and customs, the same religion, and the same language. But it was not always thus. It was very slowly and gradually that the inhabitants of the various parts of Arabia were fused into one race. From the

remotest antiquity, the most striking ethnographic and linguistic differences separated the nations who inhabited the various regions of this vast country. Several distinct races successively immigrated into the peninsula and remained separate for many ages. Their distinctive characteristics, their manners and their civilisation prove that these nations were not all of one blood. Up to the time of Mahomet, several different languages were spoken in Arabia, and it was the introduction of Islamism alone that gave predominance to that one amongst them now called Arabic.

2. The few Arabian historians deserving of the name, who have used any discernment in collecting the traditions of their country, Ibn Khaldoun, for example, distinguish three successive populations in the peninsula. They divide these primitive, secondary, and tertiary Arabs into three divisions, called Ariba, Motareba, and Mostareba; these three names are derived from the same root, and by the modification of their grammatical form indicate the periods when these races were naturalised in the country. This distinction exactly agrees with the facts stated in the Bible, although it is presented in a sufficiently different form, to prevent the suspicion that it was borrowed from the sacred books under the influence of Mussulman teaching.*

The Ariba were the first and most ancient inhabitants of Arabia. They consisted principally of two great nations, the Adites, sprung from Ham, and the Amalika of the race of Aram, descendants of Shem, mixed with nations of secondary importance, the Thamudites of the race of Ham, and the people of the Tasm, and Jadis, of the family of Aram. The Motareba were tribes sprung from Joktan, son of Eber, always in Arabian tradition called Kahtan. The Mostareba of more modern origin were Ishmaelitish tribes; and in early times, while still numerically weak, were concentrated in a small portion of Tehamah, whence, but in much later times, they spread to Hejay, Nejed, and the deserts of Irak and Mesopotamia, where they finally absorbed the Joktanite tribes, their predecessors.

We will now consider separately this varied population.

Section III.—The Adites or Cushites of Southern Arabia.

1. Arab traditions record that the Adites, sprung from the blood of Ham, were the first inhabitants of Yemen, Hadramaut, and the countries of Mahrah and Oman. This statement fully agrees with the 10th chapter of Genesis, in which we find a considerable portion of the

* See Sales' *Koran*, "The Preliminary Discourse."

descendants of Cush inhabiting this region, where also modern science has discovered unmistakable traces of the Cushites. The Sacred Volume records as sons of Cush (Gen. x. 7), Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabtechah; as sons of Raamah, Sheba and Dedan. These, according to the plan pursued throughout this record, represent so many races.

There can be no doubt as to the name Seba; all classical writers give it to the inhabitants of Yemen. We see on their own monuments that these people, the Sabæans of the Greeks and Romans, themselves called their country Saba, and sometimes also their capital, although it was generally called Mariab (now Mareb).

Sabtah has also been as certainly identified as Hadramaut. Its capital, as we learn from the Greek Periplus of the Erythræan Sea,* from Pliny, and the native inscriptions of Yemen, was called Sabota until after the Christian era.

All commentators agree in recognising Havilah as the northern district of Yemen, bordering on Asyr, where Pliny and Strabo place the *Chavilæi* of their times,† where the Arabian geographers place the province of Khaulan, and where still, in our days, there exists the tribe of Chaulan.

Sabtechah we place on the coast of Africa, where the ancient Egyptian monuments mention a people, called Sahaba; and we believe that, according to the opinion of most critics who have studied the 10th chapter of Genesis, this name represents the first Sabæan tribes, or Arabian Cushites, who passed over into Abyssinia.

Raamah, however, decidedly belongs to Southern Arabia, and its locality can be definitely fixed. The name was preserved, in the classical ages, in the Regma of the geographer Ptolemy, a town on the strait leading to the Persian Gulf. The country of Raamah is then undoubtedly Oman.

According to the genealogical document preserved by Moses, the two sons of Raamah were two nations who left the country subsequently to the others, and settled near its frontiers. Therefore, in the neighbourhood of Oman we must look for both Dedan and Sheba.

The name of Sheba is still to be recognised in the tribe of the Benu-es-Sab, who inhabit a portion of Oman, and forms part of the name of the town of Batrasave, mentioned by Pliny in the same country.‡ The position of this town is not certain, but we fancy it should be placed in the south of Oman, and in the country of Mahrah, which otherwise

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* See *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, by W. VINCENT. London, 1805. Vol. ii. p. 301.

† PLINY, *Nat. Hist.*, v. 12; STRABO iv. 2.

‡ *Nat. Hist.* vi. 32.

would be a gap in the chain of Cushite populations on the coast of Southern Arabia.

The situation of Dedan has long been fixed by commentators, and the name still exists in that of the little island of Daden, one of the Bahrein Islands. Dedan, therefore, represents the Cushite tribes who settled in the province of Ahsa, or Bahrein; but this they could not have done till after the migration of the Canaanites, the primitive inhabitants of the country. Before this migration to a large and fertile district, the tribes of Dedan must have lived south of the Canaanites, on the frontiers of Oman, or perhaps still farther back, in the eastern part of Nejed proper.

All these Cushite nations of the south of the Arabian peninsula spoke dialects of the same language, generally called the Himyarite, but, perhaps, more correctly designated by the general term, Sabæan. This language has been already mentioned in the first book of our Manual.* It belongs to the Semitic family, and to that special group that we agree with M. Rénan in calling the Cushite group. It is closely connected on one side with the Assyrian, the idiom of the old Accadian Cushites of the land of Shinar; on the other with the Ghez, the language which the Sabæans carried with them to Abyssinia. Since the establishment of Islamism, Arabic has replaced this language in Yemen, Hadramaut, and Oman; but a dialect of it is still spoken in the country of Mahrah.

2. We have just stated that the Dedanite tribes could not have established themselves on the coast in the country of Bahrein till after the Canaanitish migration. It will be remembered that in the preceding book, on Phœnicia, we proved, from the Phœnician traditions collected by the writers of classical antiquity, that the primitive country of the Canaanitish tribes was in this part of Arabia, which they left about 2000 B.C., for Syria. We attempted to trace the route of this migration across Nejed and Hejaz, and we have recognised a colony of this race, left behind on the way, in the Horites of the Bible—the Thamud of the Arab legends—that strange race of Troglodytes, who inhabited the province of Medain Saleh, called also Diar Thamud (country of Thamud), or Hezer, and there left numerous traces of their presence.†

After remaining in these districts for two or three centuries, and arriving at a high degree of prosperity in consequence of their situation as the indispensable "middlemen" of the commerce between Syria and Nejed, or Hejaz, the Horites were destroyed, and in great part exterminated, by Chedorlaomer, the great Elamite conqueror, in the course of his victorious campaigns in Syria and Arabia. The Arabs have preserved the traditions of these events, and the name of the destroyer

* Vol. i. p. 71. † Page 145.

of the Horite inhabitants of Thamud is still unaltered in their legends. The incidents, however, are much disguised, with the exception of the essential fact of the destruction of the nation. We transcribe here the account, from which the reader will see how the warm imaginations of the Arabs, and their strange religious system—the desire to introduce one or the other of the 300 prophets they reckon before Mahomet, and who, somehow or other, must be placed in history—have transformed historical facts.

"The Thamud dug themselves dwellings in the sides of the rocks. Full of pride and impiety, they, in the shelter of their caverns, dared to brave the divine power. In the time of one of their kings, called Djouda, a prophet, named Saleh, belonging to one of their families, exhorted them to renounce idolatry. They required from him a sign of his mission. Saleh made a camel and her young one issue from a rock. Notwithstanding this miracle, the Thamud were still incredulous. Saleh had ordered them to respect the miraculous camel, but a man named Codar-el-Ahmar (Chedorlaomer) killed her with an arrow. His guilty action was the signal for the divine vengeance. Saleh announced to the Thamud that in three days they would be destroyed, and on the morning of the fourth day a thunderbolt fell on them and destroyed them."

After their misfortune, the rest of the Horites retreated to Mount Seir, on the north of the Elamitic Gulf, where they lived in the times of Isaac and Jacob. But they soon disappeared, doubtless absorbed by the neighbouring tribes, for the Edomites succeeded them in the possession of Mount Seir.

The district of Thamud, which they had abandoned, became the dwelling-place of a Joktanian tribe, called in the Bible Hagarenes, or people of Hejer. These are the second Thamud of Arab tradition, the Thamudeni, who, in the time of the empire, furnished cavalry for the Roman armies.*

Section IV.—The Aramæan Tribes.

1. The whole race of the Aramæans did not remain in Syria and in the country of Naharaim, between the Euphrates and the Chaboras, leading an agricultural life. A certain number of tribes of the same race remained constant to a nomadic life, so congenial to the tastes of the Shemites, in the desert of Syria; the inhabitants of Palmyra, for example, and of the adjoining districts, who were always purely Aramæan. To these nomade tribes of the race of Aram were joined

* Ptolemy vi. 7, 21; Pliny vi. 28, 32.

the Terahite tribes, sprung from Nahor, the brother of Abraham, one of whose sons is called in the Bible "Kemuel, the father of Aram" (Gen. xxii. 21).

The Aramæan tribes even penetrated into Arabia, and some remained there for a long time, unmixed with other races. In the genealogy in the tenth chapter of Genesis three of the sons of Aram belong to the Arabian peninsula, *Uz*, *Gether*, and *Mash* (Gen. x. 23).

Uz designates a province to the north-east of Mount Seir, next the country inhabited by the Edomites. The Bible places in this district the birthplace of the patriarch Job (Job i. 1). It was originally inhabited by a tribe of the Horites; and on account of this, an *Uz* is registered by Moses in the posterity of Seir, the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 20). The descendants of Aram succeeded the primitive Hamitic inhabitants; then the families sprung from Nahor joined them in this district, for we again find the name of *Huz* among the children of Abraham's brother (Gen. xxii. 21).

No known locality corresponds with *Gether*, but an ancient and unvarying tradition among the Arabs records as his descendants the tribes of *Tasm* and *Jadis*. The former inhabited the district of Iof, north-west of Nejed, where they remained until the third century of our era. Its history is so obscure, that "a tale of Tasm" is a proverbial expression among the Arabs for a fabulous and incredible story. The second tribe, that of Jadis, mentioned by the Greek geographer, Ptolemy, under the name of Jodisites, dwelt in Yemama.

The country of Mash cannot be definitely fixed, although certain indications point to its having been situated between the country of Bahrein and the mouth of Shat-el-Arab. But however this may be, the name of Mash or Masha unquestionably belongs to a district of Arabia. It again appears in the list of the sons of Ishmael, doubtless because an Ishmaelitish tribe had imposed itself in that district on the Aramæans. Speaking of the posterity of Joktan, the Bible says "their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east" (Gen. x. 30).

Section V.—The Amalika.

1. To complete the list of the primitive inhabitants of Arabia anterior to the establishment of the Joktanites, we must add to the tribes of pure Arabian race the great nation of the Amalika, the most numerous in the north of Arabia, who were closely connected with the Aramæans. The oldest Arab traditions record that the Amalika were descended from *Aram* and *Lud*.* This Lud is clearly not the one mentioned in

* *Caussin de Perceval*, vol. i. p. 18.

the genealogy of Shem, and representing the Lydians, but the Hamite Lud, son of Mizraim, who represents the Egyptian race, and in their language is called Rut or Lut. Tradition, therefore, represents the Amalika as a mixed race, belonging both to the races of Shem and Ham, and sprung from a mixture of Aramæans and Egyptians, a statement that may be accepted as fact, for they inhabited those portions of Arabia nearest to Egypt, the Sinaitic peninsula for example, where lived the Anu, a people of the same blood as the Egyptians.

The Amalika are the Amalekites of the Bible, the Shasu of Egyptian monuments. They originally occupied a vast territory, including nearly all Arabia Petræa and Hejaz, from the frontiers of Egypt to Mecca, passing by Ayla, the Elath of the Bible, Mount Seir, Tayma, Khaybar, and Yathrib. We know the names of those tribes who settled in the territory round the latter town, and were collectively called *Djasim*. They were distinguished as Laff, Abil, Sad, Matar, Azrak, Ghifar, and Bodayl.

2. A little later we find the Amalika divided into three branches—the Amalika proper, of pure race, the Amalekites of the Bible, the portion of the nation who inhabited the desert between Egypt, Palestine, and the mountains of Sinai; the Arkam, who first settled at Tayma and in the eastern part of Arabia Petræa; and lastly, the Katoora, who originally spread as far as Mecca. The latter, as M. Caussin de Perceval has proved in the most decisive manner,* correspond to the tribes given in Genesis as descending from Abraham by Keturah, his second wife (Gen. xxv. 2). But here it is impossible to understand the Bible language in its literal sense; for the Midianites, who are said to be descendants of the Patriarch, are represented in the Book of Genesis as already forming a great people in the time of the second generation from Abraham. The Arab tradition, connecting the Katoora with the most ancient race of the Amalika, gives us valuable assistance in interpreting with some degree of probability the sacred text. The families sprung from Abraham and Keturah—of a mixed race between the Shemites and Hamites, for Keturah is said to have been an Egyptian—did not emigrate into an uninhabited country. They settled in the provinces already peopled by a branch of the Amalika, over whom they obtained supremacy, and to whom they gave their name. The Bible, therefore, when enumerating the sons of Abraham and Keturah, gives us the names of the various Katoora tribes, which there stand as Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah. Jokshan is subdivided into two branches—Sheba and Dedan—who must not be confounded with the people of the same name inhabiting Bahrein. The most important of these tribes was

* Vol. i. p. 22.

Midian, consisting of five branches—Ephah, Epher, Hanoch, Abidah, and Eldaah (Gen. xxv. 4). This tribe also soon acquired ascendancy over the others, and the whole nation was called by its name. The Katoora were from that time called Midianites only, and this term is always used to designate them in the Bible.

3. A third period in the primitive history of the nations sprung from the Amalika, commences when the Jorham sprung from Joktan, who for some time had settled near them in Hejaz, attacked them with the assistance of the first Ishmaelitish tribes, and drove them from the country. The Arkam, together with the Katoora, or Midianites, were driven back into Arabia Petræa, with the exception of the tribe of Asur, sprung from Dedan, who, separated from the rest of their race, retired southward to Asyr, to which province they gave their name.

From this time the Midianites occupied the country where we find them in the Biblical story struggling with the Israelites, namely, the eastern shore of the Elamitic Gulf and the country inland as far as the frontier of the kingdom of Moab, and the land of the Ammonites. The Arkam were naturally between them and the Amalekites proper, in Mount Seir and the valley of Petra. Arab traditions state they owe their name to the designation borne by all their kings, Arkam, and in the Bible we find mention of Rekem, an ancient prince of this race (Numb. xxxi. 8; Jos. xiii. 21).

The country where we are led to place the branch of the Amalika, called Arkam, is the district where we afterwards find the Edomites, and where the Book of Genesis describes Esau, the son of Isaac, surnamed Edom, as establishing himself with his family and numerous dependents, after the return of his brother Jacob to Palestine. Here again, as amongst the Katoora, but a little later, families sprung from the mixture of the race of Abraham with foreign nations came and imposed themselves on the primitive population of the blood of Amalek, who became subject to their new rulers, but were not destroyed. This ancient population was, however, before this known by the name of Edomites as well as Arkam, and it was from settling in the midst of them that Esau was surnamed Edom. Egyptian papyri of the twelfth dynasty speak of the country of Edom five centuries before the birth of the son of Isaac. After the settlement of Esau and his family, the principal tribes of the Edomites enumerated in the Bible were Teman, Omar, Zepho, Kenaz, Korah, Gatam, Nahath, Zerah, Shammah, and Mizzah (Gen. xxxvi. 15—17). Each of these was governed by a chief, called *alluph*, descended from Esau. It would even seem from the text of Genesis, that a family sprung from the brother of Jacob established itself among the Amalekites proper, and there became the royal race.

4. The origin of the Amalika, connected by the Shemites with the

branch of Aram, gives us occasion to think that the national language in the three divisions of Amalekites, Edomites, and Midianites must have been Aramæan. It is at least certain, and this to some extent confirms the hypothesis that not only do the few remaining inscriptions of the descendants of the people of Edom and Midian, in the centuries approaching the Christian era, belong to an Aramæan language, but that also the proper names of men and places from Edom and Midian, given in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Assyrian kings from the ninth century B.C., are purely Aramæan.

SECTION VI.—THE JOKTANITE ARABS.

1. WE have already stated that the second stratum of the Arabian population, the Motareba of the national traditions, was composed of the tribes sprung from Joktan, son of Eber, and great grandson of Arphaxad. These were the first Arabs, properly so called.

The 10th chapter of Genesis gives Joktan, whose name in the Arabic traditions is corrupted into Kahtan, thirteen sons, representing so many great divisions in the country — Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab (Gen. x. 26—29).

Amongst these names we immediately recognise two as having already figured in the table of the Arab descendants of Cush, Sheba and Havilah. They here again designate the same provinces, the situation of which we have already fixed. Hazarmaveth, under a different form, also represents the Sabtah of the race of Cush, for it is the Hebrew pronunciation of Hadramaut.

Sheleph plainly corresponds to the Salapeni, or Alapeni of classical geographers, and to what is now the province of Halaban, on the western frontier of Hadramaut.

Hadoram is undoubtedly the tribe of Hadura sprung from Kahtan, and said by Ibn Khaldun to have formerly lived in a province of Yemen, called Rass.* This tribe was destroyed, and the catastrophe is used by Arab tradition as a field for the introduction of another of their innumerable prophets. It was, they said, the punishment of the Hadura for their blindness and cruelty in putting to death the prophet Shoaib, the son of Dhu Mahdam, who was raised up by God to turn them from idolatry by teaching them religious truth.

Uzal represents the province of Yemen, where is situated the town of Sana, and which is even now called Awzal.

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* IBN KHALDUN, f. 13.

For Diklah we are again obliged to enter on mere conjectures, as no province of Arabia bears a similar title. But as this name signifies "palm," we may, perhaps, connect it with the religious worship paid by the inhabitants of Nedjran to the date tree, in which they see the image and most noble personification of the deity. In consequence of this coincidence, we are inclined to place Diklah in the country of Nedjran.

The name Obal may be read Gobal, according to the strength of the initial articulation, and recalls the Gebanitæ of Pliny, who inhabited the west of the province of Awzal, on the borders of the sea; and its capital, Tamna, was so large a city that it contained sixty-five temples.

Abimael ("the father of Maël") represents one of the districts of the land of Mahrah, the principal incense-producing region. The Greek naturalist, Theophrastus,* says that in his times the best incense came from the district of Mali, which it is easy to identify with Maël.

We next find Ophir. This cannot mean the Indian Ophir, in the country of Abhira, near the mouths of the Indus. The most probable conjecture as to the Arabian Ophir is, that this name was generally applied to the region serving as a depôt for the products of the Indian Ophir, in the neighbourhood of the celebrated port of Aden, where, as we shall see, vessels from India usually brought their merchandise, to be conveyed thence by other vessels up the Red Sea. In classical geographers we find mention of the province of Yemen, bordering the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb from Musa† (now Maushid), as far as Aden, called the country of Maphar, an appellation resembling Ophir, with the prefix of the letter M, so frequent in the names of Semitic places.

We think that the name of Jobab must have been altered, and propose to correct it to Jobar. Ptolemy speaks of some Jobarites‡ in Southern Arabia; and Arab traditions record a nation of Wabar, sprung from Kahtan, who inhabited the country east of Aden, as far as the frontier of Hadramaut. We shall again speak of this people, on the occasion of their destruction by Nebuchadnezzar.

3. All these names we have just mentioned belong to Yemen, Hadramaut, and the country of Mahrah, or to the southern countries of the Arabic peninsula, previously inhabited by the Cushites. The Joktanite Arabs, in fact, superimposed themselves in these countries on the primitive Cushite Sabæans. We shall attempt, in the chapter of this book on the history of Yemen, to determine the epoch of their entry into the country, and to show how they lived there for a certain

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* *Hist. Plant.* ix. 4.

† See PTOL. vii. 15; PLINY, vi. 23; and BOCHART, *Phaleg.* xxx.

‡ See BOCHART, *Phaleg.* ii. 21.

time side by side with the Adites of the race of Cush, subject to their political supremacy, and at last became the governing power.

The populations sprung from Joktan were not, however, exclusively concentrated in Southern Arabia. Their primitive cradle was a region whence also came the Abrahamites, and is precisely indicated by the significant names of two of the direct ancestors of Joktan—Arphaxad, "border of the Chaldæan," and Eber, "the man from beyond [the river,]" in reference to Babylon, or the district now called Irak Araby, on the right bank of the Euphrates. To move from that locality to Yemen, the Joktanite tribes must have passed through the whole length of the Arabian peninsula, and it would be unreasonable to suppose that they did not leave some colonies behind them along their route.

In the 10th chapter of Genesis it is expressly said that the descendants of Joktan occupied the whole land "from Mesha as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east." Mesha we have already spoken of, and seen that the Aramæan tribes first settled there. It is the Mesalik of our days, that portion of the desert now inhabited by the great tribe of the Benu-Lam, extending immediately beyond the fertile district of Irak Araby, which we suppose to have been the cradle of the Joktanites, Sephar is the Saphar of Greek and Roman geographers (the Zafar of our times), in the country of Mahrah, and is overlooked by a high mountain, celebrated in Arab traditions, the Djebel Shedjir.

Thus, according to indications given in the Book of Genesis, the Joktanites inhabited a vast zone, crossing Arabia, and including from Mesalik, Djebel Shammar, Hejaz, Yemen, Hadramaut, and Mahrah.

Beyond the territory of Mecca, on the other side of the mountains, we find a district now called Kahtan, which one is tempted to identify with the name of the son of Eber, under its Arabic form. In Hejaz proper, all the national Arab traditions describe there a great nation of Joktanites—a powerful empire which we shall have occasion to refer to—the Jorham, who had driven the Amalika from the country, and amongst whom arose the first Ishmaelites. We think that the Jorham may be identified with Almodad, the eldest of Joktan's sons in the 10th chapter of Genesis, for Mudad is the name we most often find in their history as borne by their chiefs.

One of the sons of Joktan, Jerah, or Jerach, we have not as yet mentioned. He, we think, may be placed in Nejed. The Assyrian inscriptions, as we shall see, mention Yerak as the capital of the district, now called Djebel Shammar.

4. The Arabic language, properly so called, is the national idiom of the Joktanites; pure Arabic, *el-arabiyat el-mahdha*, as it is called by the native historians, the language in which the Koran is written. The testimony of Arab traditions on this subject is unvaried; all state that it was whilst living amongst the sons of Joktan that Ishmael, and the

tribes descended from him, adopted this language. The Joktanite populations settled in Yemen carried it with them, and after the lapse of some time it was spoken in some districts, together with the Sabæan, or Himyarite.

Section VII.—The Ishmaelitish Tribes.

1. The Ishmaelites form the Mostareba, or "naturalised Arabs" of the native historians. The fact, recorded in the Bible, that a portion of the Arab tribes descended from Ishmael, the son of Abraham and the Egyptian slave Hagar, is the one most fully proved in the whole history of the peninsula. It forms the foundation for a considerable portion of the legends related in the Koran.

The Book of Genesis gives us the principal tribes already sprung from this race at the time the Book was written, under the form of a genealogical table, on a similar plan to that employed in recording the tribes sprung from Cush and Joktan. Twelve sons are assigned to Ishmael—as if to form a pendant to the twelve sons of Jacob, ancestors of the Israelitish tribes—Nebajoth, Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah (Gen. xxv. 13—15).

Nebajoth, as we learn from traditions we shall have occasion to speak of, was the ancestor of the Ishmaelites who remained in the country where their father had lived—in Tehama, around Mecca. This branch of the family was the best known.

The Arabs of the tribe of Kedar are often mentioned in the Bible, especially with reference to the trade with Phœnicia. They furnished the caravans across the desert of Dahna, to convey the merchandise of Hadramaut, Mahrah, and Oman to Syria. They inhabited the southern portion of Yemama, on the borders of the desert, and they seem to have gradually spread as far as the Persian Gulf, for doubtless it was from them that the maritime district of Keydeyre, between Oman and Bahrein, received its name.

It is impossible to identify with certainty all the sons of Ishmael; but a portion at least of their names may be recognised in those of the present provinces of Arabia. Mishma is decidedly Medjmaa, in Northern Nejed; and Dumah, the Doomat-el-Jendel of the present time, under the thirtieth degree of latitude, a little to the north of the province of Iof; Massa we have already recognised in Meshalik, where the Ishmaelites imposed themselves on the Aramæans and Joktanites; Tema is a well-known town in Hejaz, Teyma, on the confines of the Djebel Shammar; and we may consider Jetur as representing the inha-

bitants of the mountain of Athal, in Nejed; lastly, Kedemah, as his name indicates, lived to the east of the other tribes of the same race—on the eastern border of Nejed, in the mountain of Toweik.

Therefore, according to the eight names out of the twelve that we have been able to recognise from the list of the sons of Ishmael, it results that from the first the Ishmaelitish tribes occupied a zone of territory running through the centre of the Arabian peninsula, from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf—from Mecca to the land of Keydar, including the Tehamah, a small portion of Hejaz proper and the high plateau of Nejed; whilst some branches spread still further, on the one side into Meshalik, and on the other to the coast between Bahrein and Oman. In the course of time their domain increased enormously, and the descendants of Nebajoth spread through nearly all Arabia, whilst the greater part of the ancient tribes disappeared.*

2. Such are the various elements of the population of the Arabic peninsula, now united in the present race of Arabs. Unfortunately, as regards the greater part of Arabia, this is all we know of its former history. The ancient annals of Asyr, Hadramaut, Mahrah, Oman, Bahrein, Yemama, and Nejed are perfectly unknown to us. We do know a little more of Yemen, Hejaz, Tehama, and Arabia Petræa, and of these countries alone. We shall, therefore, devote a special chapter to the principal events in the history of each of them.

CHAPTER II.

YEMEN.

SECTION I.—THE ANCIENT ADITES.

1. THE Cushites, the first inhabitants of Arabia, are known in the national traditions by the name of Adites, from their progenitor, who is called Ad, the grandson of Ham. All the accounts given of them by Arab historians are but fanciful legends, in which we may recognise the same vivid imagination that created the tales of "The Thousand and One Nights." Some historical facts, however, may be recognised amongst the mass of fable. As in all legendary traditions, so in these, great historical epochs are personified by monarchs, to whom everything is ascribed, and to whom are assigned several centuries of life.

* Consult the geographical articles in SMITH'S *Biblical Dictionary*, under each of the names mentioned above.

We will briefly relate and analyse these legends, and then try to sift out the few facts in them.

2. Ad, it is said, came from the north-east, or from the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and settled at the southern extremity of the desert of Dahna, in the district called *Ahcaf-ęr-raml*, "the mountains of sand," bordered by Yemen, Hadramaut, and Oman. Hence his posterity spread over the whole of Southern Arabia.

Ad married a thousand wives, had four thousand sons, and lived twelve hundred years. His descendants multiplied considerably. After his death, his sons Shedid and Shedad reigned in succession over the Adites. In the time of the latter, the people of Ad were a thousand tribes, each composed of several thousands of men. Great conquests are attributed to Shedad; he subdued, it is said, all Arabia and Irak. The migration of the Canaanites, their establishment in Syria, and the Shepherd invasion of Egypt are, by many Arab writers, represented as an expedition of Shedad.

It is also recorded that this prince built a palace, ornamented with superb columns, and surrounded by a magnificent garden. The name of Irem is given to this garden and palace. It was a Paradise that Shedad had wished to create, in imitation of the celestial paradise of whose delights he had heard. God punished his pride by miraculously taking away his life, and causing him to disappear from Irem.* This tradition may be but another form of that of the Tower of Babel, which it in some degree resembles. Its locality is evidently the province still called Yerim. The traveller, Niebuhr, remarks,† however, that this province now is not more fertile than the rest of Yemen.

Imagination, especially among uncultured nations, magnifies distant objects. Thus the Adites are depicted as men of gigantic stature. Their strength was equal to their size, and they easily moved enormous blocks of stone. It is said that they raised many monuments of their power, and hence, among the Arabs, arose the custom of calling great ruins "buildings of the Adites." In the Koran, allusion is made to the edifices they built on "high places for vain uses," expressions proving that their idolatry was considered to have been tainted with Sabæism, or star worship.

3. In the midst of all the fabulous traits with which these legends abound, we may perceive the remembrance of a powerful empire founded by the Cushites in very early ages, apparently including the whole of Arabia Felix, and not only Yemen proper. We also find traces of a wealthy nation, constructors of great buildings, with an advanced civilisation analogous to that of Chaldæa, professing a religion similar to the Babylonian; a nation, in short, with whom material pro-

* See KORAN, chap. 89, "The overwhelming." † *Travels*, xiii. 2.

gress was allied to great moral depravity and obscene rites. These facts must be true, and strictly historical, for they are everywhere met with among the Cushites, as among the Canaanites, their brothers by origin.

4. The first Adite empire was destroyed about eighteen centuries before our era by a great catastrophe that overtook the nation. The approximate date of this event has been very ingeniously fixed by M. Caussin de Perceval. The circumstances of the catastrophe have become entirely mythical.

"The arrogance and impiety of the Adites having at last reached its height," says the legend, "God raised amongst them a prophet, called Hud, who appeared in the reign of a certain Khuldjan. During the fifty years that his mission lasted, Hud vainly called on his fellow men to learn the knowledge of one God. Then a terrible drought afflicted the land. The Adites sent three of their number to the valley of Mecca, even at that period a sacred place, to offer sacrifices, and pray to heaven for rain.

"The Amalika, connected by ties of blood with the Adites, lived in this valley. They received the envoys as relations; one of the three conducted the victims to the summit of a mountain, and immolated them. Three clouds instantly appeared above his head, and a celestial voice cried, 'Choose which thou wilt for thy nation.' He chose the largest and blackest, thinking it was charged with rain. The cloud instantly set forth for the land of the Adites. From it issued a terrible hurricane that destroyed them all, with the exception of the few who had listened to Hud, and renounced idolatry. The envoy who had made the sacrifice was killed also, but the two others were spared, because they had believed the word spoken by Hud."*

The belief in the three hundred prophets, forerunners of Mahomet, impressed by the Koran on the minds of the Arabs, and enjoined on them as an article of faith, has had the effect of transforming all those disasters that occurred to the primitive populations, and are still remembered, into miraculous punishments inflicted by heaven for their unbelief in the prophets' warnings. Thus we have seen the tradition of Chedorlaomer's invasion changed in the history of the Thamudites. Plainly this story about the Adites is also one of the same kind, and refers to some great political revolution.

In this tempest coming from Hejaz, and destroying the Adite population, and first empire, may we not recognise the invasion of the Joktanite tribes, who must necessarily have followed this route to enter Yémen, and who first appeared there at the period when the destruction of the Adites is stated to have taken place?

* CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, vol. i. 15.

It was about eighteen centuries before our era that the Joktanites entered Southern Arabia. At the time when the tenth chapter of Genesis was written, they were, as we have already shown, spread over all Yemen, Hadramaut, and Mahrah, where they had settled amidst the Cushites, the primitive dwellers in the land. Doubtless, their first settlement occasioned some struggles. It is not likely that Sabæans of Cushite blood would allow a flood of invaders to enter peaceably into possession of the fertile lands that had been in their sole possession. There must have been an energetic resistance on their side, and, according to all appearances, the invasion, like all events of a similar nature, was accomplished only by force.

It would be vain to seek in history for an event more likely to have caused the ruin of the first Adite empire (and it is impossible to doubt the reality of the fact, notwithstanding the fabulous character of the circumstances with which it is surrounded by tradition), than this invasion of Joktanite tribes, which exactly coincides as to time; and, therefore, we assert our explanation of this event with a certain degree of confidence.*

Section II.—The Second Adites.

1. After this invasion, the Cushite element of the population, being still the most numerous, and possessing great superiority in knowledge and civilisation over the Joktanites, who were still almost in the nomadic state, soon recovered the moral and material supremacy, and political dominion. A new empire was formed in which the power still belonged to the Sabæans of the race of Cush. For many centuries the Joktanite tribes lived subject to the laws of this empire, but silently increasing in strength. They adopted in great part the manners, language, institutions, and culture of the Cushites, so that, when in after times they usurped the dominion, there was no appreciable change in either civilisation, language or religion.

This new empire forms the second Adite age of the Arab historians, and they record quite as many fables respecting its history, as of that of the earlier empire—fables, however, with some basis of truth.

2. One of the envoys, who had been sent to Mecca to offer the sacrifice that was so fatal to the nation of the sons of Ad, called Lokman, became, it is said, king of the small portion that had escaped the Divine vengeance. He is surnamed Dhu-Unuscour, "the vultures' man," because God granted him a life equal in duration to that of seven vultures. This is a celebrated Oriental legend, and Lokman and his vultures are frequently alluded to by poets. The latter they call Lubâd.

* The story of the destruction of the first Adite Empire has been used by Southey in his poem "Thalaba."

Little by little the new nation of Ad was formed. The centre of its power was the country of Sheba proper, where, according to the tenth chapter of Genesis, there was no primitive Joktanite tribe, although in all the neighbouring provinces they were already settled. Its capital, therefore, was Mareb. Torrents descended from the mountains and frequently devastated the country. "Lokman undertook to oppose an obstacle to this disastrous inundation. He diverted the course of some of the torrents into the sea. To retain the surplus waters, he constructed between two hills a strong dyke, to form a vast basin or reservoir. In this dyke he made many outlets, through which escaped sufficient water to irrigate the fields. The province then became one of the most fertile in Yemen, and the inhabitants for many centuries enjoyed great prosperity. This work of Lokman is famous as the dyke of Arim, or Sedd Mareb, the dyke of Mareb. Its ruins still exist. A French traveller, M. Arnaud, has visited the place, and constructed a plan, which he sent to the Asiatic Society of Paris."*

Lokman governed the Adites for a period computed by the Arab historians to have lasted a thousand years, and this figure may be taken as pretty correct, if considered as that of the duration of his race and empire. This is the opinion of Ibn Khaldun,† who says, "Lokman and his children preserved the royalty for a thousand years. His immediate successor was his son, Lukagm. The power of this family lasted till it was overthrown by Yarub, son of Kahtan. Conquered by him, the Adites took refuge in the mountains of Hadramaut, and, finally, entirely disappeared."

3. It was during the first centuries of the second Adite empire that Yemen was temporarily subjected by the Egyptians, who called it the land of Pun. The principal phases of this domination have already been mentioned in the book on Egyptian history.‡ Conquered during the minority of Thothmes III., and the regency of the Princess Hatasu, Yemen appears to have been lost by the Egyptians in the troublous times at the close of the eighteenth dynasty. Ramses II. recovered it almost immediately after he ascended the throne, and it was not till the time of the effeminate kings of the twentieth dynasty, that this splendid ornament of Egyptian power was finally lost. As we have already said, the conquest of the land of Pun under Hatasu is related in the elegant bas-reliefs of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari, at Thebes, published by M. Duemichen. The country appears to have submitted peaceably, for no battle is represented. On the bas-relief are found a multitude of details of the highest interest as to the state of the country at this

* CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, vol. i. p. 16.
† IBN KHALDUN, quoted by CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, vol. i. p. 17.
‡ Vol. i. p. 230.

period. The inhabitants, depicted with the ethnographic truth so remarkable in Egyptian art, were a dark race, much resembling the Egyptians (a manifest proof that the Cushite element was still preponderant, although many features of the Arab type were even then apparent). In the abundant booty, loading the vessels of Pharaoh, for conveyance to the land of Egypt, appear a great many Indian animals, and products not indigenous to the soil of Yemen—elephants' teeth, gold, precious stones, sandal wood, and monkeys. The presence of these articles suffices to prove that even then there was an active commerce between India and Southern Arabia, and that the possession of Yemen was coveted by the Egyptian Pharaohs for the treasures collected there, as the depôt of the commerce between Western Asia and the Indian countries.

These same bas-reliefs of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari prove that, at the time of their conquest by the army of the Queen Hatasu the people of Pun or Yemen also carried on an equally active trade with the eastern coast of equatorial Africa, so near their own country, and that the valuable materials procured from these lands were accumulated in great abundance in their storehouses. Together with Indian merchandises, and incense in enormous heaps, and carried away by bushels, the booty taken by the Egyptian ships from the land of Pun appears in the representations of the temple to have comprised numerous products of unquestionably African origin, ebony, ostrich feathers, leopard and giraffe skins, live leopards, lions, and apes. A portion of the golden ingots and the elephants' teeth, acquired in such prodigious quantity by the army, must also have come from Africa as well as India. Among the natives who were forcibly employed in transporting these riches to the fleet, or who are presenting them to the regent Hatasu in her palace at Thebes, are to be seen with the Sabæans a great number of negroes, settled in the country either as slaves or free men, but whose presence, in any case, proves the activity of the intercourse then existing between Yemen and the African coast. From this point of view, it is interesting to compare the bas-reliefs of Deir-el-Bahari with the chapter clxv. of the Egyptian Funereal Ritual, where is introduced a "negro of Pun," as giving some words of his language to compose mysterious names for the gods.

4. But the most curious circumstance presented to us in the documents furnished by the temple of Deir-el-Bahari, on the Egyptian expedition to Yemen during the minority of Thothmes III., is the fact that the land of Pun was then governed by an aged queen, who went in person to Thebes to render homage as a vassal to Hatasu, and her young ward. The Bible tells us that the country of Sheba was in the time of Solomon, when the Israelites held intercourse with that country, governed by a queen. The time of Solomon as well as that of Thothmes III. belongs

in Yemen to the empire of the second Adites. Thus each of the only two positive and contemporary accounts that we have of this empire states that a queen was at its head. Can this be a purely fortuitous coincidence? Without agreeing with Baron Eckstein in the development of his bold but ingenious ideas on gynecocracy, which he wishes to make a characteristic institution of the primitive Cushites, we may conclude that perhaps the Sabæan empire during that period of its history, known as the empire of the second Adites, was governed by queens, and that men were not permitted to ascend the throne. This fact need not surprise us, nor yet appear incredible, for we shall see in the following chapter that the Assyrian monuments reveal to us the existence at Dumah, in Northern Arabia, in the seventh century B.C., of a kingdom governed exclusively by queens, who also exercised at the same time even the sacerdotal functions.

Section III.—Solomon and the Indian Commerce of Yemen.

1. We have just stated that the bas-reliefs of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari afford undoubted proofs of the existence of commerce between India and Yemen at the time of the Egyptian expedition under Hatasu. It was this commerce, much more than the fertility of its own soil and its natural productions, that made Southern Arabia one of the richest countries in the world. It dates from so remote an antiquity, that it is impossible even to attempt to determine its origin.

The products of India were known in Egypt even during the dynasties of the ancient empire, and the only way by which they could have come was through Arabia. As we have already remarked, this peninsula, from its position, was the natural route for intercourse between the Indian countries on one side and the Nile valley and Western Asia on the other. Commerce carried on by means of caravans between Hindostan and the Mediterranean would have been almost impracticable, on account of the immense distance to be traversed, the material obstacles, and the dangers of the route through so many populations, many of them addicted to brigandage; whereas the monsoons made communication between the Indian and Arabian coasts both easy and rapid, in spite of the vast extent of sea separating them.

Both countries, the shores of the Indian Ocean as well as those of the Persian Gulf, were, even anterior to the Arian migrations and the establishment of the Joktanite Arabs in Yemen, inhabited by populations of the same race, Cushites and Canaanites, those people to

whom all historical traditions agree in attributing the first development of commerce and navigation. Thus the labours of M. de Bohlem,* confirming those of Heeren, and in their turn confirmed by those of M. Lassen,† have established the existence of a maritime commerce between India and Arabia from the very earliest period of the annals of humanity.

2. The part of the Arabians in this commerce, which was carried on with unabated activity as late as the fall of the Roman empire, was that of warehousemen rather than of navigators. It was thus in the age of which we possess most information, near the Christian era. It was only at Muza (now Maushid) that ancient writers mention large ships capable of making the voyage to India. The leathern boats, described by Agatharchides‡ and Strabo§ as belonging to the Sabæans, could not be used for anything but a limited coasting trade, and certainly could not have braved the perils of a voyage from Oman to the mouths of the Indus. Nearly all the vessels employed belonged to ports situated beyond the Persian Gulf. Agatharchides states that many came from Carmania, where was the famous seaport town of Harmuza (Ormus); and M. Lassen has proved that these were for the most part from India. Therefore, during the uninterrupted and frequent communication that for centuries existed between India and Arabia, it was the Indians who came to trade in Yemen, rather than the Sabæans who went to India; and in consequence of this, an island in the Indian Ocean, very similarly situated to Malta in the Mediterranean, namely, Socotra (*Dvipa Sukhatara, Dioscoridis insula*), and which in turn was Phœnician, Greek, Syrian, and Arabian, is found in ancient times to have been Indian.‖

The ports receiving the valuable merchandise of India were, in Yemen, Muza (Maushid), and especially Aden, mentioned by Ezekiel (xxvii. 23), the principal seat of this commerce, and in consequence of the riches collected there, more specially called by the Greeks Arabia Felix. On the frontiers of Yemen and Hadramaut, Canneh (now Hisn Ghorab; in the land of Mahrah, Moscha, or Sephar (Zafar). Other vessels from India, not wishing to make so long a voyage, unloaded on the coast of Oman, in the port of another Moscha (Muscat). There were some with cargoes specially destined for Babylon and the Euphrates valley that went up the Persian Gulf to the islands of Tylos

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* *Das alte Indien*, vol. i. p. 42.

† *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii. p. 580.

‡ AGATHARCHIDES, *De Mari Erythræo;* MULLER, *Geogr. Græc. Minor*, vol. i. p. 189.

§ STRABO xvi. 4.

‖ LASSEN, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii. p. 580; A. DE HUMBOLDT, *Cosmos*, vol. ii. (Sabine's translation), p. 134.

and Arvad, whilst they were still occupied by the Canaanites, before their migration into Syria, and afterwards landed on the Bahrein coast, occupied by the Cushites of Dedan.

3. The principal importations from India were gold, tin, precious stones, ivory, sandal-wood, spices, pepper, cinnamon, and cotton. Besides these articles, the storehouses of Southern Arabia received the products of the opposite coast of Africa, procured by the Sabæans in the active coasting trade they carried on with this not far distant land, where Mosylon (now Ras Abourgabeh) was the principal port. These were, besides the spices that gave name to that coast, ebony, ostrich feathers, and more gold and ivory. With the addition of the products of the soil of Southern Arabia itself, incense, myrrh, laudanum, precious stones, such as onyx and agates, lastly, aloes from the island of Socotra, and pearls from the fisheries in the Gulf of Ormus, we shall have the list of the articles comprised in the trade of this country with Egypt and with those Asiatic countries bordering on the Mediterranean; and at the same time, by considering this list, we may form an idea of how great must have been the importance and activity of such a traffic.

For a long time it was carried on by land only, by means of caravans crossing Arabia; for the navigation of the Red Sea, much more difficult and dangerous than that of the Indian Ocean, was not attempted till some centuries later. We know not who were the agents in those very early times, when the Canaanites still lived on the shores of the Persian Gulf. But when once they were settled by the Mediterranean, it was to their country that nearly all the convoys of merchandise from the different parts of Arabia Felix were directed. In the depôts of their cities they collected these articles, and by means of their vessels or by caravans distributed them through all Western Asia.

The Phœnicians always maintained an uninterrupted communication with the countries whence they originally came; and having already, before their migration, traded with India, were well aware of the advantage of such a commerce. The caravans of myrrh, incense, and balm crossing Arabia towards the land of Canaan are mentioned in the Bible, in the history of Joseph, which belongs to a period very near to the first establishment of the Canaanites in Syria. As soon as commercial towns arose in Phœnicia, we find, as the prophet Ezekiel said, "The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones and gold. Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants" (Ezekiel xxvii. 22, 23). A great number of Phœnician merchants, attracted by this trade, established themselves in Yemen, Hadramaut, Oman, and Bahrein. Phœnician factories were also established at several places

on the Persian Gulf, amongst others in the islands of Tylos and Arvad, formerly occupied by their ancestors.

We will not repeat what we have already said (in the book on Phœnicia)* about the two routes followed in conveying to the Phœnician towns the merchandise of Southern Arabia, and the Arab tribes who were its carriers. The caravans of Yemen, specially conducted by the Midianites and Edomites, went northwards, at a little distance from the coast, as far as Mecca, or Yanbo, and Havara (the Leucecome of the Greeks), crossed Yathrib, thence gained Sela (afterwards Petra), in the land of the Edomites, and arrived in Phœnicia by the way of Moab and Ammon. Those of Hadramaut and Oman, conducted by men of the tribe of Kedar, crossed the desert of Dahna, and first reached the land of Dedan, then turning westward, across the plateau of Nejed, followed through Hejaz, from the place now called Henakieh, the present pilgrim route to Mecca, and entered Phœnicia at the same place as the caravan from Yemen. The Dedanites, in whose country, as we have before said, many of the ships from India discharged their cargoes, also formed caravans that followed the same route to Phœnicia, or else, crossing the Meshalik on the Lower Euphrates, arrived direct at the great market of Babylon. The relations with this famous and flourishing city became so close, that the Babylonians, like the Phœnicians at Tylos and Arvad, had, at a period as yet unfortunately not determinable, a sort of commercial colony, the town of Gerra (now Khatiff), in the midst of the land of Dedan. This, however, was not till a later period. For a long time the trade between Dedan and Babylon was inconsiderable, and Phœnicia possessed the almost complete monopoly of the commerce with Southern Arabia.

The articles bartered by the Phœnicians for the merchandise from Arabia Felix—for this trade was carried on by barter, like all those of very early times, before the invention of money—were the agricultural products of Syria, corn, oil, and wine; articles manufactured in Phœnicia and the Asiatic countries, particularly linen cloth and purple stuffs, highly valued by the Sabæans; the medicinal root, storax, saffron grown in Cilicia and in the valley of the Jordan; iron and bronze implements, and ingots of silver, a metal neither found in Southern Arabia nor yet imported from India or Africa, but which commerce made as abundant among the Arabs as gold.

4. Such a trade, carried on exclusively by means of caravans through Arabia, was long and hazardous, and exposed in the transit to the robbers of the desert. The time necessarily came when an attempt was made to avoid these dangers, and to escape the price levied by the Arab carriers, by adopting the route by sea, when vessels from the head

* Page 200, *seq.*

of the Arabian Gulf should sail to Muza or Aden, and load with the merchandise brought there by the Indian vessels. The navigation of the Red Sea was difficult for sailing vessels, and required experienced seamen, and, this is, doubtless, the explanation of its tardy adoption; but when once attempted, it necessarily produced enormous profits.

The route by sea to Yemen appears to have been first attempted under the reign of Hatasu, when the newly-formed royal Egyptian fleet carried to that country the troops who established there the supremacy of the Pharaohs.* The navigation of the Red Sea was actively carried on under the powerful monarchs of the nineteenth dynasty, after the splendid works executed in the Isthmus of Suez by Seti I., and the opening of the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, which so much facilitated the commerce between India and Arabia. We have already remarked that appearances seem to indicate that the vessels built in the ports of the Isthmus of Suez with wood from Syria, and trading between the land of Mizraim and the vassal country of Sheba, were merchant as well as war ships, and were manned exclusively by Phœnicians, who there, as in the Mediterranean, exercised their customary trade of maritime carriers. Doubtless, the Phœnician cities saw a rival market to their own in the one thus opened in the valley of the Nile, for the merchandise of India and Arabia; but for this they found compensation in the work of fitting out ships in the Red Sea, which was entirely in the hands of their own merchants and sailors.

This commerce, extremely flourishing during the nineteenth dynasty, seems, together with the Egyptian dominion in Yemen, to have ceased under the feeble [and] inactive successors of Ramses III. So far as we may judge, in the absence of positive proof, there would appear then to have been an interruption in the navigation of the Arabian Gulf. During the twentieth Egyptian dynasty, the sack of Sidon by the Philistines had given a terrible though momentary blow to the Phœnician power, and for some time interrupted their maritime commerce. When they resumed their trade again in the Mediterranean, circumstances were not favourable for recommencing it in the Red Sea. The great works of Seti I., abandoned by a neglectful administration, were no longer serviceable. The canal from the Nile to the sea each day became more choked by sand, and was impassable. There was no longer a military fleet in the Arabian Gulf to protect merchant vessels; Egypt itself, distracted by civil wars, was not in a state to undertake commercial enterprises. The Phœnicians, therefore, did not resume their ship-building and voyages on the Red Sea, and the dwellers on

* See *The Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, by J. DUEMICHEN. Leipzig, 1868.

its shores did not even dream of such an undertaking. The Egyptians had none of the instincts of seamen, and, like the Persians of our days, had a superstitious horror of the sea; nor could the nations of Arabia Petræa carry on this trade, for in later times they were not able to furnish a single sailor for the ships built at Elath.

5. Nearly two centuries passed away, when Hiram and Solomon despatched vessels down the Red Sea, as we have already said both in the history of Israel and Phœnicia. A combination of circumstances, such as had not previously occurred, was necessary for the success of an enterprise of this kind. It was requisite that the dominions of the king of Israel should extend to Elath, so that he might establish in that town timber yards, supplied with wood from the countries of Gilead and Bashan, and also that he should be on friendly terms with the sovereign of Tyre and with the Phœnician cities, who would share in the enterprise, and who alone could man the ships thus built with sailors sufficiently skilful and bold to brave the perils of the long voyage of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. And this was the position of affairs when Hiram and Solomon entered into their treaty of alliance.

The vessels of the two monarchs were not content with doing merely what had once before been done under the Egyptians of the nineteenth dynasty, namely, fetching from the ports of Yemen the merchandise collected there from India. They were much bolder, and their enterprise was rewarded with success. Profiting by the regularity of the monsoons, they fetched the products of India at first hand, from the very place of their shipment in the ports of the land of Ophir, or Abhira.* These distant voyages were repeated with success as long as Solomon reigned.

The vessels going to Ophir necessarily touched at the ports of Yemen to take in provisions and await favourable winds. Thus the renown of the two allied kings, particularly of the power of Solomon, was spread in the land of the Adites. This was the cause of the journey made by the queen of Sheba to Jerusalem to see Solomon.

6. The account of this journey is to be found in 1 Kings x. 1—13, and to it the imagination of the Arabs has added many strange circumstances. After having related the first expedition to Ophir, the Bible continues, "And when the queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Solomon concerning the name of the Lord, she came to prove him with hard questions. And she came to Jerusalem with a very great train, with camels that bare spices, and very much gold, and precious stones: and when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that was in her heart. And Solomon told her all her questions; there was not

* On the subject of Ophir, see vol. i. p. 145.

anything hid from the king, which he told her not. And when the queen of Sheba had seen all Solomon's wisdom, and the house that he had built, and the meat of his table, and the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel, and his cup-bearers, and his ascent by which he went up unto the house of the Lord, there was no more spirit in her. And she said to the king, It was a true report that I heard in mine own land of thy acts and of thy wisdom. Howbeit, I believed not the words, until I came, and mine eyes had seen it; and, behold, the half was not told me: thy wisdom and prosperity exceedeth the fame which I heard. Happy are thy men, happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and that hear thy wisdom. Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the Lord loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king, to do judgment and justice. And she gave the king an hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones: there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon. And the navy, also, of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees and precious stones. And the king made of the almug trees pillars for the house of the Lord, and for the king's house, harps also, and psalteries for singers: there came no such almug trees, nor were seen unto this day. And king Solomon gave unto the queen of Sheba all her desire whatsoever she asked, beside that which Solomon gave her of his royal bounty. So she turned and went to her own country, she and her servants."

The sea voyages to Ophir, and even to Yemen, ceased at the death of Solomon. The separation of the ten tribes, and the revolutions that simultaneously took place at Tyre, rendered any such expeditions impracticable. Doubtless, the king of Judah was still for some time master of the land of the Edomites, and of the port of Elath. But the forests that alone could supply the wood necessary for ship building, were under the dominion of his rival, the king of Israel. Besides, the alliance between the courts of Jerusalem and Tyre was no longer sufficiently close to admit of the renewal of the association existing between Solomon and Hiram. Thus, although less than a hundred years had elapsed when Jehoshaphat, in alliance with Ahaziah, king of Israel, attempted to revive the commercial expeditions to Ophir, and constructed ships at Eziongeber, they had neither Phœnician sailors nor pilots, and the attempt signally failed (2 Chron. xx. 35, 37).

The vessels from the Egyptian ports of the Isthmus ceased their voyages at the same time as those from the Idumæan ports of the Elamitic Gulf. The state of the Egyptian ports gradually became worse. The Egyptians excluded foreigners from their country, and

did not favour the establishment of Phœnician ship owners in their ports on the Red Sea. The navigation of this sea was therefore, after Solomon's death, interrupted for centuries, and caravans from Southern Arabia to Phœnicia again became the sole means of procuring Indian merchandise.

SECTION IV.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JOKTANITE SUPREMACY. —EMIGRATION OF THE ADITES INTO ABYSSINIA.

1. The empire of the second Adites lasted ten centuries, during which the Joktanite tribes, multiplying in each generation, lived amongst the Cushite Sabæans. The superior culture of these primitive inhabitants of the soil exercised great influence over the tribes who, at the time of their arrival, were in a nearly barbarous state; and the Joktanites of Southern Arabia adopted the civilisation, manners, institutions, religion, and language of the Adites. The use of the Arabic language, properly so called, was discontinued except among some tribes of the interior, who still lived an almost nomadic life on the borders of the desert. The assimilation of the Joktanites to the Cushites was so complete that the revolution which gave political supremacy to the descendants of Joktan over those of Cush produced no sensible change in the civilisation of Yemen.

But although using the same language, the two elements of the population of Southern Arabia were still quite distinct from each other, and antagonistic in their interests, just as were also the Assyrians and Babylonians in the Euphrates basin, who like them were the one, Semites, the other, Cushites. Both were called Sabæans, but the Bible always carefully distinguishes them by a different orthography: the name of the Cushite Sabæans being written with the letter *Sin*, that of the Joktanite with *Samech*. The Joktanites were subject to the Cushites, as long as the second Adite empire lasted. But a day came when, feeling themselves strong enough to assume the mastery, they, under the command of Yarub, attacked and conquered the Adites. M. Caussin de Perceval has most ingeniously succeeded in fixing the date of this revolution at the beginning of the eighth century B.C.

2. We have already quoted the passage in which this event is related by Ibn Khaldoun, the most trustworthy of Arab historians. He seems to think that after the reign of Yarub there were no Adites except in a few mountain provinces of Hadramaut. But although legends easily admit of this wholesale disposition of entire populations, history cannot

as easily accept them. Doubtless, a few Adite or Cushite tribes did succeed in maintaining themselves in Hadramaut, for the inscriptions found there, dated in the beginning of our era, show that even then a more ancient form of dialect was used there than in Yemen. But there is no doubt that a considerable portion of the primitive inhabitants also remained in those provinces where the Joktanites had become absolute masters, reduced, it is true, as invariably happens to the conquered, to an inferior condition, and composing the lowest castes.

The majority of the Sabæan Cushites, however, especially the superior castes, refused to submit to the Joktanite yoke. A separation, therefore, took place, giving rise to the Arab proverb, "divided as the Sabæans," and the mass of the Adites emigrated to another country. According to M. Caussin de Perceval,* the passage of the Sabæans into Abyssinia is to be attributed to the consequences of the revolution that established Joktanite supremacy in Yemen.

Long before the discovery of the Himyarite language and inscriptions, it was remarked that the Ghez, or Abyssinian idiom, was a living relic of the ancient tongue of Yemen. From a linguistical and ethnographical point of view, Abyssinia is inseparable from Southern Arabia. The monuments of Abyssinian civilisation, still to be seen at Axum, present the greatest analogy with the remains of that of Yemen found at Mareb. The Greek geographers† usually couple Abyssinia with Yemen, and invariably represent the Abyssinians as an Arab or Sabæan race. Modern travellers, also, unanimously agree in recognising the Arab type among those Abyssinian populations who do not belong to the African stock.

The date of the passage of the Sabæans from Arabia into Abyssinia is much more difficult to prove than the fact of their having done so.

3. Very early, during the obscure period, extending from the seventh to the ninth Egyptian dynasty, a considerable branch of the Cushite race crossed the Red Sea, and settled in Lower Ethiopia, or Ethiopia proper, the Soudan of our days, in the land of Napata and Meroe, then then inhabited by negroes. Probably this division of Cushites had originally dwelt in Hejaz, thus uniting the Adites of Yemen to the Hamite Anu of Arabia Petræa, and had passed the Red Sea before the

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* Vol. i., p. 46.

† LUDOLF, *Historia Æthiopica*, lib. i. cap. i. *Ad suam Historiam Commentarium*, pp. 57, 202 *et seq.* (ED. 1691). ADELUNG, *Mithridates*, vol. i. p. 402. DE SACY, *Mem. de l'Acad. des Ins.*, tom. L. p. 278. GESENIUS, in the *Encyclopédie d'Ersch et Gruber*, Article "Æthiopische Sprache." RENAN, *Histoire des Languages Sémitiques* (2 edit.) p. 217.

invasion of the Amalika. However this may be, the Cushites thus settled on the Upper Nile, where they peculiarly localised the name of the "land of Cush," and soon mixed with African or negro elements on one side, and Egyptian on the other, and thus in a double point of view, ethnographic and linguistic, acquired peculiarities widely differing from that of the Sabæan Cushites.

These latter, more faithful to the primitive type of their race, were the origin of the Abyssinians; whilst the Bischaris of our days represent the remains of the Ethiopian Cushites. We have already remarked that at the period when the ethnographical document of the 10th chapter of Genesis was compiled, a Sabæan tribe, represented there as Sabtechah, seems to have been established on the coast of Africa, opposite to Yemen, in the neighbourhood of Port Adulis. But it does not seem to have spread inland, for the Egyptian monuments of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties show us Abyssinia still exclusively peopled by negroes.

For many centuries there must have been a gradual infiltration of the Sabæan element among the inhabitants of this country, from contact with the colony of Sabtechah, and the active trade carried on by the Sabæans of Yemen with the African coast, as far as the Cape of Spices (the Guardafui). But this gradual infiltration would not account for the substitution of Sabæans, who formed the mass of the Abyssinian population, in place of black Africans. There must have been a great emigration at some time.

This emigration was decidedly anterior to the Christian era. The books of King Juba* state that then the inhabitants of Upper Ethiopia were Arabs, and the lists of the Abyssinian kings will not allow of a change, either of race or dynasty, in the centuries immediately preceding this period. On the other hand, as has been judiciously remarked by the learned Silvestre de Sacy, the Sabæan emigration into Abyssinia was decidedly posterior to the time of Solomon, for the national legends respecting this prince and the queen of Sheba are as popular among the Abyssinians as among the inhabitants of Yemen. We are therefore obliged to agree with M. Caussin de Perceval as to the origin of this emigration, for in the limited space of time during which it must have taken place there was no event of sufficient importance to give rise to such a movement, with the exception of the defeat of the second Adites by Yarub, and the separation it occasioned among the Sabæans.

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* PLINY, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 32.

Section V.—The First Joktanite Kings of Yemen.

1. Yarub, the conqueror of the Adites, and founder of the new monarchy of Joktanite Arabs, was succeeded on the throne by his son, Yashdjob, a weak and feeble prince, of whom nothing is recorded, but that he allowed the chiefs of the various provinces of his states to make themselves independent. This was the origin of the separate kingdoms of Hadramaut and Mahrah, which from that time always had their own princes, sometimes vassals of the kings of Yemen, sometimes entirely independent.

Abd Shems, surnamed Sheba, son of Yashdjob, recovered the power his predecessors had lost. He united under his government all the petty dynasties of Arabia Felix, and subdued and reduced to slavery those remnants of the Adites still remaining free in some provinces of Hadramaut. He also constructed great works in his capital, now first called Mareb, for until then it was called Sheba, like the country itself. Aboulfeda ascribes to Abd Shems the construction of the famous dyke, which contributed so much to the fertility of the territory that, as we have already stated, it is attributed by a more generally received legend to Lokman and the second Adites. The more popular tradition would seem the most probable, for on the dyke depended the existence of the town as an important and populous city.

"Abd Shems had several children, the most celebrated being Himyer and Kahlan, who left a numerous posterity. From these two personages were descended the greater part of the Yemenite tribes, who still existed at the time of the rise of Islamism. The Himyarites seem to have settled in the towns, whilst the Kahlanites inhabited the country and the deserts of Yemen; and mostly living a nomadic life, preserved their original energy, while the former gradually became effeminate by their dwelling in cities.

"Himyer was the father of the great family called Homeritæ by the Greek and Roman authors, which appears under this name for the first time in the account of the expedition of Ælius Gallus, in 24 B.C. This family reigned in Yemen from the time of its founder, Himyer, till the conquest of the country by the Abyssinians, 525 A.D. This long space of time, consisting of nearly twelve centuries, is divided into two periods. During the first the children of Himyer shared the royalty with other families, especially that of Kahtan. These various princes and their subjects were, until the time when the power was concentrated in the house of Himyer (about one century B.C.), called Sabæans. Then began the second period. The house of Himyer flourished in Arabia Felix with unrivalled splendour, and the name of Himyerites, or Homeritæ, replaced that of Sabæans."*

* Caussin de Perceval, vol. i. p. 54.

2. The son of Abd Shems was in reality called Ghazahadj, Himyer being but an appellation, signifying "the red." This use of appellations seems from the inscriptions to have been general among the inhabitants of Southern Arabia. He was, they say, the finest man and most accomplished horseman of his time; he loved splendour, and it is stated that he was the first of his dynasty who wore a golden crown.

The respective order of this prince's successors is doubtful. It is only known that the crown was worn by his brother, Kahlan, his son, Wathil, by Alamluk, and, lastly, by Shammir, the son of Alamluk. To these names given by the Arab historians we must add that of Yataamir,* who, as we have seen in the book on Assyrian history, was contemporary with the Ninevite monarch, Sargon, and sent him an embassy and presents. Yataamir necessarily lived but very few years after the time of Himyer, and very probably was his first, or at most his second, successor.

Oman was taken forcibly from Wathil by one of his brothers, Malik, who, having made himself master of this province, maintained himself there, in spite of all the efforts made by Wathil to dislodge him. From this period Oman formed an entirely independent kingdom.

Shammir founded the town of Zafar, in Yemen (to be distinguished from the town of the same name in Mahrah). It is said he acknowledged the suzerainty of the founder of the Persian monarchy, and paid him tribute. This statement would make him contemporary with Cyrus, and prevents our understanding literally the expression of the Arab historians who make him grandson of Himyer; he was only a direct descendant. The three reigns between Himyer and Shammir in the Arab lists, even with the addition of that of Yataamir, are not sufficient to fill the space of two centuries between a prince a little anterior to Sargon and one contemporary with Cyrus. There must be large gaps in the list. It is also impossible literally to understand the title of son of Himyer, as applied to Wathil, for his son immediately succeeds Shammir.

This prince was called Sacsac. He successfully made war on the son and successor of Malik, and temporarily recovered Oman. But this country was again lost under his son, Yafar, who was, apparently, the contemporary of Darius Hystaspes. His reign was a troubled one. Insurrections broke out in many provinces. He not only lost Oman, but the successors of Malik made incessant war upon him, and threatened the safety even of Yemen. Yafar died, and after his death was born his son, Noman, who succeeded to the throne, but not until after the usurpation of a certain Dhu Riash, also of the race of Himyer.

3. This is the substance of all the information given by the Arab

* Vol. i. p. 393.

historians. It is very incomplete, particularly for the period between Himyer and Shammir. But we know, from other sources, of events of importance, which must have occurred during this obscure epoch.

Such was the expedition of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, between 681 and 672, across the desert of Dahna, and his subjugation of the land of Bazi, which, according to the geographical indications of his inscriptions, as we have already stated,* must have been one of the inland provinces of Hadramaut or Mahrah. This expedition of Esarhaddon to the frontiers of the Sabæan kingdom is mentioned by Berosus, and on the authority of this historian is quoted by St. Methodius. Such an exploit was quite possible, and even easy for this prince, as his father, Sennacherib, had for the first time subjected Hejaz and Nejed to the Ninevite power; and he himself had completed the subjugation of the Arab kingdom of Dumah, and in a victorious campaign had taken the capital, and placed on the throne a woman from his own harem.

To the reign of Esarhaddon we must assign, if not the foundation of Gerrha—for the Dedanites always had a commercial establishment at this point—at any rate the commencement of its great importance. Esarhaddon was the first prince who securely held possession at one time both of Babylon and Bahrein; he, as we already know, immensely increased the commercial and political prosperity of Babylon, and he also extended the maritime commerce of Gerrha. This town, moreover, according to the terms employed by Strabo,† in speaking of its origin, seems not to have been a colony of voluntary settlers from Chaldæa, but of persons forcibly removed there, and this necessarily places its foundation during the period of the great and incessant struggles of the Babylonians against the princes of the dynasty of Sargon. It is therefore probable that, by placing there a certain number of the captives taken in the last Babylonian insurrection under the reign of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon found means of turning the severities of his father into a source of profit for the great city with whose government he was charged, and for which he always displayed a marked predilection.

"Gerrha," says Strabo, "is situated in a salt-producing land. Its houses are built of blocks of salt, and they often require sprinkling with water for fear the heat of the sun should crack the walls. It stands two hundred stades from the sea." "The Gerrhæans," says Agatharchides,‡ "are one of the wealthiest people in the world." They owed these riches to their commerce, to their traffic in the products of Arabia and India, which they transported westward in cara-

* Vol. i. p. 406. † xvi. iii. 3.

‡ De Mari Erythræo, 102.

vans, or to Babylon by sea. Indian merchandise destined for Babylon was transhipped in the port of Gerrha, at some distance from the town, from the large vessels that had made the Indian voyage into much smaller ones, fit for the navigation of the river. Thus they arrived at Babylon, where much more was imported than was required for use in the city, to allow for exportation by the Euphrates as far as Thapsacus, and thence into Western Asia. The ships of Gerrha also ascended the Tigris as far as Opis, a depôt whence the goods of India and Southern Arabia were distributed over Media, Armenia, and the neighbouring countries.

4. The foundation or increased prosperity of Gerrha thus resulted in the opening of a new way for Indian commerce, to the prejudice of the route by Yemen and Phœnicia, which was supplanted by the Babylonian. The trade by caravans across the peninsula could not vie, either in point of security or cheapness, with this new means of maritime transport. The principal source of the riches of the Sabæan kingdom seemed about to be closed when the accession of the Saite dynasty in Egypt, and the new policy inaugurated by Psammetik, raised a successful rival to Gerrha by re-opening to trade the route down the Red Sea, formerly used during the nineteenth dynasty, and in the reigns of Hiram and Solomon. Psammetik saw the advantage, too long neglected, of Egypt's commercial situation, and as his native subjects had no aptitude for maritime commerce, he opened his country to Greek and Phœnician merchants, whom he favoured in every way, and attracted to the country by all the means in his power. His successor, Necho, [illegible] occupied himself with re-establishing the navigation of the Red Sea. With this intention, he caused the Phœnicians to undertake the circumnavigation of Africa, and attempted to re-open the ancient canal of Seti I., between the Nile and Red Sea; and although he soon abandoned this latter enterprise, he succeeded at least in settling in the ports of the Isthmus a great number of Phœnician ship-owners, whose vessels began regularly every year to make the voyage to Muza or Aden, where they shipped both Indian merchandise and the native products of the country. At the same time the Nabathæans, whose kingdom was then very flourishing, wishing to make Sela or Petra, their capital, a great centre of commerce, and to cause a portion of this lucrative traffic to pass through their hands, attracted other Phœnician ship-owners to their ports of Elath, and Eziongeber, and these places once again became as prosperous as under the reign of Solomon.

The greater part of the South Arabian and Indian trade soon followed the route by the Red Sea, and the navigation of this sea was continued till the fall of the Roman empire. Tyre at first profited much by this change in the commercial route with Yemen. The Red

Sea transports were in the hands of Tyrian ship-owners and sailors, and the city of Melkarth was still the principal depôt for the Indian and Arabian trade, both by way of Egypt, from the country of the Nabathæans, and by the Arabian caravans; and the merchandise thus received was distributed by the Tyrians through all the Mediterranean basin as well as Western Asia. This position of affairs is described by Ezekiel (Ezek. xxvii.) in his magnificent description of Tyrian prosperity.

5. Dr. Vincent, in his work on the Periplus of Nearchus,* first remarked, that when Nebuchadnezzar simultaneously ruined Tyre and transported a portion of the Nabathæan population, his object in so doing was to change the direction of Indian trade, to cause it to pass by the Persian Gulf and Babylon, and thence across his empire by the towns of Palmyra and Damascus through Syria. Not content with merely ruining the old commercial towns, he caused great works for facilitating navigation to be made between Babylon and the sea, to attract ships from India not only to Gerrha, but to the mouth of the two great rivers of Mesopotamia. By his orders locks were constructed, and dykes raised to contain the waters of the Shat-el-Arab, and thus to allow vessels of a tolerably heavy burden to ascend as far as Babylon. A vast port was made at Kar Dunyas, or Teredon. The famous Royal Canal, or Naharmalcha, was cleansed and repaired, and another navigable canal, the Aracan, constructed in Chaldæa. These vast works, portions of a well conceived whole, prove the truth of Dr. Vincent's idea as to this admirable and laboriously executed plan.

Might it not have been under the influence of the same idea that the Babylonian conqueror attempted to carry his arms into Yemen? It is certain that after having subdued the major part of Arabia Deserta, as we shall relate in the chapter on Hejaz, Nebuchadnezzar attacked the Sabæan kingdom, and penetrated along the coast of the Red Sea as far as Aden, which place he no doubt desired to capture. He reduced to captivity some of the Joktanite tribes of the country, amongst others that of Hadurâ, inhabiting the provinces of Rass and Wabar, in the vicinity of Aden, and transported them to the banks of the Euphrates. As usual, these calamities are turned by the Arab historians into just punishments for the impiety of these tribes who had refused to listen to the voice of the prophets—in the case of Hadura, Shoaib, son of Dhu Mahdam; in that of Wabar, Handha, son of Safwan.

But though Nebuchadnezzar advanced thus far into Yemen, he was unable to maintain his position there, and retired after a mere razzia on a large scale. He, however, succeeded in securing for Babylon a part

* *The Periplus of the Erythæan Sea*, 1805, vol. ii. p. 553.

of the Indian traffic, which till then had passed through the kingdom of Sheba; but he failed in diverting the whole traffic towards the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates, for to accomplish that he must have made himself master of Egypt, and treated the ports of the Isthmus as he had treated Tyre. Although the power of the great Canaanitish city was destroyed, its merchants and sailors who had settled in Egypt were encouraged and protected by Necho and his successors, and still carried on voyages to Southern Arabia. In these enterprises they were soon joined by the Greeks, into whose hands this commerce almost entirely passed under the Ptolemies. The merchandise arriving by way of the Red Sea could no longer be sent to Tyre, preparatory to being dispersed over all the shores of the Mediterranean. The cargoes were transported across Lower Egypt in another direction, and the new port of embarkation for the Mediterranean was Naucratis, and afterwards Alexandria.

6. The canal system of Nebuchadnezzar did not last long; less than a century after their execution they were impassable.

"Under Persian dominion, however, the navigation of the Persian Gulf had many difficulties to contend with. The Persians, who were not themselves a navigating people, had great apprehension that an enemy's fleet might come and lay waste their fertile provinces; and it will appear that this fear had some foundation, when the position of Babylon and Susa, two of the metropolitan cities of their nation, and the depositories for the tributes of so many nations, is considered. Situated, the one on the Euphrates, the other on the Choaspes, which was joined to the Tigris by a canal, danger was to be apprehended not solely from a great maritime power; a mere flotilla of determined pirates, such as the Normans of the Middle Ages, and there were many such in the Persian Gulf, would have been sufficient to plunder either of these great cities. The Persians could hardly have prevented the descent of such marauders, and the pillage and destruction of their capitals would have been the inevitable result, and their empire even might have been endangered.

"To avoid this risk, they resolved to render the mouth of the Tigris, into which the Choaspes flowed, entirely inaccessible; and the efforts, the time, and the expense that this undertaking cost them prove how necessary they thought it. They constructed every here and there barriers of cut stone, interrupting the level of the river, and forming cataracts of different heights. Alexander the Great, who favoured commerce and navigation, gave orders, on his return from India, that these barriers should be removed. The existence of these difficulties sufficiently accounts for the cause of the rapid decay of the navigation of the Persian Gulf."*

* HEEREN, *Historical Researches*, "Babylonians," ch. ii.

In consequence of the works of the Persian kings thus neutralising those of Nebuchadnezzar, ships could no longer ascend as far as Babylon or Opis. The port of Kar-Dunyas, or Teredon, in a few years became choked up and inaccessible. The merchandise destined for Babylon was again obliged to be landed at Gerrha, and carried by caravans to the great Chaldæan city. The period between Cyrus and Alexander was, therefore, the culminating point of the prosperity of Gerrha. Babylon itself, so severely treated by Darius and Xerxes, had received a blow from which it never recovered, and each day gradually declined more and more. The Indian trade was all directed to Yemen, and followed the Red Sea route. In the room of fallen Tyre, however, two great markets were now open: Egypt, whence, by the port of Naucratis, merchandise was carried to all parts of the Mediterranean; and Sela, or Petra, among the Nabathæans, whence it was carried by land to Damascus and Thapsacus, and thence to the various countries of Western Asia.

SECTION VI.—INSTITUTIONS AND MANNERS OF THE SABÆAN KINGDOM.

1. THE institutions and manners of Yemen retained the impress of Cushite civilisation, even after the Joktanite tribes had assumed the supremacy, so imbued had they become with the influence of the primitive inhabitants of the soil during the ten centuries from their entry into the country to the reign of Yarub. Up to the time when Islamism everywhere enforced uniformity, the inhabitants of Southern Arabia were always distinguished by their manners and customs from the rest of the dwellers in the peninsula.

The basis of the social organisation of the Sabæan kingdom was the system of caste, unknown to the Shemites, an essentially Cushite institution, which, wherever it is found, is easily proved to have originated with that race. We have seen it flourishing at Babylon. The Arians of India, who adopted it, borrowed it from the Cushite populations who preceded them in the basins of the Indus and Ganges, and whom they conquered, namely, the Sudras and Kausikas. The same institution is found in the kingdom of Narikas (not Arians), on the Malabar coast, who were also Cushites, and whose constitution presents striking analogies with that of the Sabæans, already noticed by M. Lassen.* There were five distinct castes in Sabæan society—warriors, agricul-

* *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii. p. 580.

turists, artisans, those who gathered and exported myrrh, and those who dealt in incense. These were exclusive castes, and did not intermarry.

Another institution that we unhesitatingly pronounce to be also of Cushite origin, is mentioned by Strabo as one of the most singular characteristics of the manners of the kingdom of Sheba. This was the community of goods between brothers, under the administration of the eldest. To this institution was added the strange and disgusting practice of polyandry, or marriage of all the brothers with one woman. This is still to be met with among the Narikas of Malabar and the remnants of the primitive populations of ante-Arian India, who took refuge in the high valleys of the Himalaya.

"The primitive manners of Yemen have no resemblance to those of the Shemites. The code of Homerite laws compiled by Gregentius, Bishop of Zafar, depicts manners more Ethiopian than Arabian—a great perversion of sexual relations, barbarous and complicated penalties, crimes and prescriptions unknown to the Shemites. Circumcision, established in Yemen from remotest antiquity, and several other pagan usages, still practised in our days, appear to be of Cushite origin.* Lokman, the mythical representative of Adite wisdom, resembles Æsop, whose name, according to M. Welcker,† seems to indicate an Ethiopian origin (Αἴσωπος, Αἰθίοψ). In India, also, the whole literature of tales and apologues apparently came from the Sudras. Perhaps this style of fiction, characterised by the part assigned in it to animals, may represent a style peculiar to the Cushites."‡

2. On this foundation of Adite institutions and manners, and the system of caste, the Joktanites, when they became masters, built up a political organisation, resembling that of the greater part of Shemitic nations, and differing from what we see in Hamite empires, in Egypt, Phœnicia, Babylonia, and amongst the Narikas of Malabar, namely, a tribal system and an organised military feudalism.

Suzerain of several princes who were constantly aspiring to independence, and whose submission was precarious, the king of Sheba, even in his own states, found his power greatly counterbalanced by that of his great vassals, whose national title was Cayl. Like the feudal lords of the Middle Ages, each great vassal was designated by the name of his castle, preceded by the word *dhu*, "he of," "lord of;" for example, Dhu Raidan, "the lord of Raidan," and Dhu Ruaïn, "the lord of Ruaïn." These were the chiefs of tribes, who, in spite of the sedentary life of the nation, remained as distinct as among the

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* STRABO, xvi 4.

† *Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii. p. 250.

‡ RENAN, *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, 1st ed., p. 301.

nomadic Arabs, and each occupied a particular province. The distinction of tribes was made only in the superior caste, that of the warriors. It may be that this caste alone was of purely Joktanite origin, and that the four others were descendants of the primitive Cushite population.

Below the *cayls* were ranged the ranks of military nobility, known to us from the inscriptions, and whose titles were—*baïn*, "illustrious;" *dharah* "excellent;" *watr*, "eminent." Unfortunately, we do not know the order in which they ranked. These were "the lords of Sheba," *abaali Saba*. The owners of these titles of nobility were the heads of the different houses of the tribe, vassals to the *cayl;* and, like the barons of the eleventh century, each exercising at home some of the functions of royalty.

With a political organisation of this kind, the central regal power could not have been stronger than it was in our feudal times, unless, indeed, the throne was exceptionally occupied by an iron-handed prince, who temporarily reduced to obedience his immediate vassals and their subordinate serfs. The Greek traveller, Agatharchides, describes the king of Sheba as living confined to his palace, and enjoying a power more nominal than real. He even adds —"The king, after his coronation, is no more allowed to leave the palace, and did he do so, according to an old custom, he would be stoned." This, plainly, is one of those not uncommon exaggerations by which travellers generalise a few, perhaps, exceptional facts into the custom of the country; for history gives us accounts of conquering Sabæan kings, who certainly did not allow themselves to be shut up in their palaces. The greater number, however, lived in their harem, inactive and without real power, content with the honours surrounding them, and not even attempting to dispute the possession of authority with the *cayls*.

The officers of the court shared the slothful and retired life of the king. Agatharchides describes them as having become quite effeminate, from constant idleness and ease, whilst the feudal nobility was manly and warlike. The eunuchs held a great place in the surroundings of the monarch; the inscriptions show them to have been amongst the most important personages.

The succession to the crown, as well as to the great fiefs, and, doubtless, to the seigniories (this seems the right word) of inferior degree, was regulated by an old custom peculiar to Arabia, afterwards adopted by Islamism, and enforced as a law. The whole of one generation was exhausted before the succession fell to the next. Thus the brother of the king, not his son, was his immediate successor.

3. The great vassals and barons of Yemen lived in strong castles, as did our nobility in the Middle Ages. The ruins of these buildings are to be found in all parts of the country; and the only one that has as

yet been examined carefully, that of Hisn Ghorab—the castle overlooking the mercantile town of Canneh—by an English naval officer, named Wellsted, proves that the art of fortification was much advanced among the Sabæans. A certain number of these castles belonged to the king, the remainder to the cayls and "lords."

Among the fortresses belonging to the crown, the most important are said to have been Salhin, near Mareb; Ghumdan, near Sana; Baium; and Raidan, near Zafar. This latter belonged to the eldest son of the king until he ascended the throne. The most celebrated among the castles of the feudal lords were those of Sauhathan, Kankaban, Sirwah, Mirwah, Hinda, Honeida, Kolsum, and Naaman, places which during the first centuries of the Christian era play a most important part in the history of Yemen.

Around these feudal fortresses people naturally collected; and villages were built, some of which, either through commerce or some other advantageous circumstance, grew into towns. Such were Amran, Haran, mentioned several times in the Bible as a large commercial town; Canneh, very celebrated; Abian, near Aden; Taez, and others. But however large and important they might become, the towns belonging to the lords were always called castles (*beit*); they were thus distinguished from cities (*hedjar*), such as Mareb, Sabota, the capital of Hadramaut, Sana, Zafar, and Aden. These were royal cities, responsible to none but the king. The castles protecting these cities sometimes bore a different name to the town, as Salhin, at Mareb, and Ghumdan, at Sana, and belonged to the crown. The "cities," or "royal towns," appear to have enjoyed liberty and self-government, as the imperial cities of Germany did in the Middle Ages. They formed corporations, presided over by special magistrates, as to whose municipal character there can be no doubt. The one who governed Mareb, the capital, was called "the powerful one of Sheba."

All this information is gathered from the ancient inscriptions of Yemen.

4. "The Sabæans," says Agatharchides,* "have in their houses an incredible number of vases and utensils of all sorts of gold and silver, beds and tripods of silver, and all the furniture of astonishing richness. Their buildings have porticoes with columns sheathed with gold, or surmounted by capitals of silver. On the friezes, ornaments, and the framework of the doors, they place plates of gold encrusted with precious stones. They spend immense sums in adorning these edifices, employing gold, silver, ivory, precious stones, and materials of the greatest value."

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* De Mari Erythræo, 102.

Pliny says there were as many as sixty temples at Sabota, the capital of Hadramaut, and sixty-five at Tauma, the chief town of the Gebanite district. According to the same author,* the circuit of the town of Mareb, where the Sabæan kings resided, was fourteen Roman miles; and Strabo says that the splendour of this town amazed the legionaries who came under its walls with Ælius Gallus. Throughout Yemen are to be found the gigantic ruins of these ancient cities, and the most imposing amongst them are those of Mareb. Unfortunately, the plan made of them by the French traveller Arnaud, and sent to the Asiatic Society of Paris, is lost, and as yet we have no drawing to give us any idea of what Sabæan architecture was like.

It must have been originally copied from the Babylonian style, for both the religion and civilisation of the land were analogous to that of Chaldæa. The description given by the Mussulman historian, Kazwini, of the palace, erected in the fortress of Ghumdân, and destroyed in the seventh century, A.D., by order of the Caliph Othman, was an edifice built according to the traditional type of the Babylonian pyramid, in seven stages, surmounted by a small chamber, and ornamented with brilliant and symbolical colours. "It was," says he, "an immense edifice with four sides, one red, another white, a third yellow, and the fourth green. In the midst arose a seven staged building, each stage smaller than the one below it, and each forty cubits high. The last formed a chamber (*iwan*) entirely of marble, and roofed with a single slab. At the four corners of this apartment were figures of lions; they were hollow, and when the wind blew into their throats, produced a roaring sound."†

The porticoes, described by Agatharchides as composed of slender columns, generally of wood, sheathed in metal, are also, as we already know, characteristic of Chaldæo-Assyrian architecture. Only at Babylon and Nineveh the columns were sheathed with bronze; whilst in Yemen, so great was the abundance of precious metals obtained by commerce, that gold and silver were employed.

Some cylinders and other graven stones of Sabæan workmanship have been found. The Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bombay contains a bas-relief from Mareb, representing a warrior of Yemen mounted on his camel. Several tablets of bronze found at Amran, and now in the British Museum, bearing religious dedications in Himyerite characters, are ornamented with symbolical figures. Unfortunately, these few monuments of Sabæan art are of comparatively recent date, and all bear the manifest impress of Grecian influence. They, therefore, do not give a satisfactory idea of the Yemenite art of early periods, although, even under Hellenic influence, symbolical

* *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 32.

† CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, vol. i. p. 75.

representations are found borrowed from Chaldæo-Assyrian culture, such as the two-winged sphinx with the sacred tree.

5. The art of agriculture was successfully cultivated among the ancient people of Southern Arabia. Irrigation, of the greatest importance in this equatorial climate, was brought to the highest degree of perfection; and here, again, is an incontestable resemblance to Babylonian civilisation, from which that of the Sabæans was clearly derived. What the ancient engineers of Yemen principally excelled in, in the matter of irrigation, was the construction, in deep valleys of immense dykes, forming vast permanent reservoirs, filled during the rainy season, and furnishing water for the irrigation of the low lands in dry weather. Nearly all the important centres of population possessed a reservoir of this nature, on which depended the fertility of their fields. The most celebrated of all was the Dyke of Mareb, the rupture of which, a short time after the Christian era, was one of the great events of the ancient history of Yemen. Its ruins remain to our day. Arab writers also mention another at Sana, almost equal in importance to that of Mareb.

SECTION VII.—RELIGION.

1. THE inscriptions alone afford any, and this very incomplete, information as to the ancient religion of Yemen, which sprung from that of Babylon and the Euphrates basin, and until the introduction of Islamism, remained fundamentally the same.

We find in it the greater part of the same divine personages, with their names unaltered. It is impossible not to identify the Chaldæo-Assyrian gods—Ilu, Bel, Shamash, Ishtar, Sin, Samdan, Nisroch, in the gods of Yemen—Il, Bil, Shems, Athtor, Sin, Simdan, Nasr. In the case of the latter the identification is rendered more certain, as several of the Mussulman writers tell us that Nasr was represented with an eagle's head, the usual type of the representations of Nisroch on the Babylonian and Ninevite monuments. May not also the Salman of the banks of the Euphrates, be compared to the guardian deity of the town of Aden, Yathaa, whose name is an exact translation of that of Salman, and also characterises a "saviour" god.

We have already said that in the Assyrian and Babylonian religions, when their ideas of the various deities are traced back to the point of departure, the fundamental notion of divine unity is to be found, though disfigured by pantheistic notions, the secondary gods being in reality but the attributes and personified manifestations of the one

Supreme and only God, the Great Whole, in whom all things were united and absorbed. This fundamental monotheistic conception is clearly impressed on all we know of the religion of Yemen. The worship of Il—that is, of the highest conception of the deity, an almost monotheistic form—was much more widely spread than ever was the worship of Ilu in Babylon and Chaldæa. Particularly under the title "Il Makah," "the god that hears," he was the deity most generally worshipped, the one whose temples were to be found in almost every locality. To him was dedicated the principal sanctuary in Mareb, the capital; in short, he may be considered the national god.

The greater part of the names of the gods in Yemen, as in Babylon, Assyria, Phœnicia, among the Syrian nations—in a word, among all religions of the same family, whether or not identical with those of Babylon—are epithets, or qualifications, clearly characterising all these divine personages as qualities or attributes of the Supreme Being, considered from a distinct point of view. Thus we find Bil, "the Lord;" Rahman, "the Merciful;" Yathaa, "the Saviour;" Haubas, "the Shining;" Samah, "the Elevated;" Kulal, "the Perfect;" Simdan, "the Powerful;" Dhamar, "the Protector." They read like a list of the surnames of Allah among the Mahometan Arabs; but these names are simultaneously employed on the same monuments as those of distinct personages. To this category must be added Dhu Shamawi, "the Lord of the Heavens," corresponding exactly to the Phœnician Baal-Shamim.

Together with this philosophical subdivision of the divine essence and power, so closely resembling what we have seen at Babylon, we may also find in Yemen that ruder geographical and political subdivision which predominated in Phœnicia. Local sanctuaries give rise to secondary divinities, just as did the subdivision of the divine attributes. In an inscription, now in the British Museum, the Il Makah, of Haran, and the Il Makah, of Naaman, are invoked as two divinities, as, in the Assyrian inscriptions, are the Ishtar, of Arbela, and the Ishtar, of Nineveh. The name of a god is hardly ever quoted without giving him the title of "lord" of some particular place. Il Makah is lord of Haran, of Naaman, of Awam, or Aaram; Athtor, lord of Doudh; Sin, lord of Alam; Yathaa, lord of Aden; Shems, lady of Ghazharan. There were also deities, particularly females, described in the inscriptions by no other name than that of lord or lady of some place, like the Baal-Tars and Baal-Sidon of Phœnicia. Such are the goddesses, Dhat-Hami, "the lady of the sacred enclosure;" and Dhat-Baadan, "the lady of Baadan." This, among the Sabæans, as in Phœnicia, was caused by the feudal division of the country, and the party spirit of the different districts.

2. In the belief in its secondary gods, and in its general spirit, the

religion of Yemen assumed a more markedly astronomical and sidereal character than even that of Babylon. In a climate where the sky is incomparably clear, struck by the beauty of the stars, and the activity of the sun in producing vegetation, the Sabæans finally ascribed everything in nature to the stars, and especially to the sun, the most brilliant of heavenly bodies. The ancient religion of Yemen was specially solar. In the sun the Sabæans saw the highest, purest, and most complete manifestation of the divine being, and they adored it as the special manifestation of divinity.

All the epithets we have quoted as having given birth to distinct personages, apply to the sun, to his functions and attributes, his effects and the different phases of his revolution, considered separately. Bil, Rahman, Yathaa, Haubas, Samah, Koulah, Simdan, Dhamar, Dhu Shamawi, all represent the sun under different points of view. Equally with the planet himself under his material and visible form, he was adored as a feminine deity, under the name of Shems. This exactly agrees with what we have already said as to the nature of the female deities of Syria and the Euphrates basin; for there the goddess was termed the "manifestation" of the god to whom she corresponds; she is, so to speak, a subjective form of the primitive deity, a second divine person, sufficiently distinct from him to be considered his wife, and yet being nothing more than the god himself in a different manifestation. Therefore though the inscriptions give us less information on the goddesses than on the gods of Yemen, we may gather from them certain proofs that each male god had, in the religion of this country, as well as in those of Babylonia and Syria, an exactly corresponding female deity who was none other but himself under another form. Ila responded to Ilahat, whose name is found in that of the strong castle of Bit-Ilahat, near Sana; Athtor, considered as masculine, was accompanied by Athtoret, the decomposition into two persons of the androgynous Venus of Syria.

Besides the sun, whom we have shown to have been the principal deity of the Sabæan religion, other celestial bodies were adored as manifestations, less important it is true, of the divine being—secondary gods emanating from his substance. Sin, the moon, was at Babylon, and in the religions of Asia Minor, considered as a male god; worship was also addressed to the five planets, whose original appellations in the Himyerite tongue we do not know; to the principal constellations, to some of the fixed stars, remarkable for their splendour and size, as for instance, Aldebqran (the eye of the bull), Sohail (Canopus) and Shaari lobur (Sirius), in short, to all the host of heaven.

3. In the abstract, the religion of Yemen, as we see it in the dedicatory inscriptions from the temples of Mareb, Khariba, Sana, Amran, and Akian, was a development, a refined and complicated form derived

from the sanctuaries of the Euphrates, of a simple primitive religion, and this later form maintained itself till the adoption of Islamism in Oman, and a portion of Yemen, and many traces of it still remain in the popular customs of the inhabitants of Oman. This was *Sabæism* proper, and of this form of religion the writers who, in the commencement of Islamism, saw it in full force, have given us valuable and circumstantial details.

Sabæism, in its primitive simplicity, seems to have spread at first through all the Arabian populations. It was a religion without images, without idolatry, and without a priesthood. The seven planets and the sun were worshipped; direct invocations were addressed to them, when they were seen in the sky. The adepts in Sabæism celebrated a fast of thirty days in honor of the ascension of the sun in the heavens, and the renewal of vegetation before the spring equinox, and a great annual feast, the most important of all, on the day when the sun entered Aries; this feast is still publicly solemnized throughout Oman, though the inhabitants profess themselves Mussulmans. After a first invocation to the rising sun, with the face turned towards him, the sectaries of this religion prayed seven times a day to the celestial bodies, turning towards the north. They had no regular priests, but the very simple functions of worship were performed by the chiefs of tribes and heads of families.*

The spirit of this primitive religion preserved the inhabitants of Yemen from idolatry, such as prevailed at Babylon and Nineveh. It is true that the images of divinities are mentioned as having been the objects of public worship in some of their most important temples; but classical writers, and those of Mahometan Arabia, agree in representing these people as addressing worship to the stars of heaven, from sanctuaries situated on high places, or on the top of pyramids similar to those of Chaldæa, in preference to these idols. They also in some temples adored, as natural images of the gods, or more accurately as objects in which resided the divine essence—in the same way as in Syro-Phœnician religions—certain stones believed to have fallen from heaven, and similar to the bætylia of Phœnicia; also certain springs, or certain trees, such as the famous palm of Nedjran, that on feast days was dressed like a woman, with golden necklaces and valuable ornaments.

4. Neither the inscriptions nor the accounts of Arab writers give us any precise account of the ceremonies of worship among the ancient inhabitants of Yemen. We merely find from the texts that the gods were worshipped in temples *(beit)* raised by the piety of the sovereigns,

* See PALGRAVE. *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia.* Vol. ii. p. 258.

and surrounded by a sacred enclosure (*hami*, *haram*). Each of these temples was specially dedicated to a divine personage, but he was there surrounded by a troop of coequal gods. In the sacred enclosure sacrifices were made of oxen, sheep and camels. In the temples were dedicated statues, votive tablets, valuable vases, ingots of gold or silver. The sanctuaries were also endowed with land, flocks, herds, and slaves, given to the god by his worshippers. It was a usual custom, and one of which many examples are furnished by the inscriptions, for a man solemnly to consecrate himself, his family and goods to the service of some particular divinity.

A custom very prevalent in all Syro-Phœnician worship was that of great annual pilgrimages to certain peculiarly venerated sanctuaries, where a feast was held, accompanied by a fair that lasted several days. Aramæan countries have thus the famous pilgrimages of Harran and Bambyce, Phœnicia that to the temple of Melkarth at Tyre. But of all the lands of Western Asia, the one where this custom was most developed was Arabia. We shall speak in the following chapters of the pilgrimages of Arabia Petræa and Hejaz, especially of the most important of all, that to the Caaba at Mecca. This custom also prevailed among the Sabæans of Yemen.

A great number of pilgrims from this region went every year to Mecca. Classical authors mention their appearance at an annual feast at Bambyce. In their own country they had important centres for pilgrimages. An inscription, copied by the French traveller, Arnaud, from the ruins of the temple of Il Makah, at Mareb, speaks of pilgrimages to that temple. From the tenor of several of the tablets preserved in the British Museum, and discovered at Amran, it would appear that pilgrimages in honour of the same Il Makah were made to Amran. Mussulman writers speak of those to Tebala for the feast of a god, called Dhu Kholosa, apparently one of the solar deities. The temple of Tebala attracted such a crowd of worshippers, and was regarded with so much veneration, that it was surnamed the Caaba of Yemen.* Mahomet caused it to be destroyed. The writers of the Mahometan period also mention pilgrimages to Sana, in honor of a god they call Rayam, a name perhaps corrupted, as is often the case with Himyerite names. There were others frequented by only one tribe or one province. Such were the pilgrimages of the Benu Madhidj to Djorash in honor of Yaghuth; of the Benu Murad and the tribe of Khaywan in honor of Yauk; of the Dhu Kela in honor of Nasr; those of the inhabitants of the country of Khaulan in honor of the god Amm-Anas, to whom they consecrated a portion of their fields and herds, dedicating another portion to the supreme god, Il.

* CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, vol. i. p. 110.

5. The ancient inhabitants of Yemen believed in a future life. This is positively proved, although we know neither their funereal rites, nor their exact ideas as to the fate of souls after death. The inscriptions only tell us that in the families of the superior caste, the Joktanite warriors, dead ancestors were canonised, and were worshipped by their family. Thus, very frequently, the author of a religious dedication, when invoking the principal gods of Yemen, invokes at the same time, in the same way, and on an equality with them, his dead father, his nearest relations and the founders of his race. But, naturally, this worship existed only among noble families, and no trace of it is found in the inferior castes.*

CHAPTER III.

HEJAZ.

SECTION I.—THE ARAB LEGEND OF ISHMAEL.

1. THE religious importance of Mecca, long before Islamism, resulted in the concentration in this locality of all the sacred places of the Arabs connected with the primitive history of Hejaz. These traditions represent the vicinity of the sacred city as having been the cradle whence sprung all the Ishmaelite tribes; and under the influence of Mussulman doctrine, they have assumed the form of a legend about Ishmael, a portion of which is evidently borrowed from the Bible, but the other, and a very important part, is no less plainly an ancient national tradition, systematically arranged by Mahomet to meet his own views. We shall, as with the traditions of Yemen, respecting the Adites, reproduce this legend first as it is found in the Koran, and in the works of historians who wrote under its influence, and then, with M. Caussin de Perceval, attempt to pick out the positive facts and elements of truth contained in it.

2. When Abraham, says the legend, had driven Hagar and her son,

* See article by M. F. Lenormant on *Le Culte des ancêtres divinisés dans l'Yémen* in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, for 1867.

Ishmael, from his tent, he caused them to be conducted into the desert to the place where Mecca now is. "Hagar soon finished the small supply of provisions she had with her. In her despair she ran about the space between the hills Safa and Marwa, vainly seeking water to quench her own and her son's thirst. During this time, the little Ishmael, being left alone, began to cry, and struck the earth with his foot, and immediately a spring of water appeared. At the cries of her child, Hagar ran to him, and perceived the fountain. At this sight, she was filled with joy, and, fearing the water might be lost, she built up some clay around the spring, thus forming a basin. It is this spring, say the Mahometans, that still supplies the famous well, called the Well of Zemzem. In this country, there was a tribe of the Amalika who camped beside Mount Ararat. Two of these Amalika were wandering, oppressed with thirst, in search of strayed camels. They saw birds flying to, and settling at, the foot of a hill, and judged they should find water at that place. Guided by this sign, they arrived at the spring, and said to Hagar, 'Who art thou? Who is this child? Whence comes this water? We have never seen any here all the years we have lived in this desert.' When Hagar had answered their questions, and told them the miracle worked in favour of Ishmael, the Arabs conceived a great respect for her and her son. They asked her to settle with them near this water. Hagar having consented, the tribe fixed its camp there. Ishmael grew up among the Amalika. He had arrived at man's estate when his mother died. The Amalika then said among themselves, 'This spring is this young man's; for him heaven caused it to rise. If he quit this place, it will no doubt dry up.' Believing this, in order to retain Ishmael among them, they determined to marry him to one of their own maidens, whom Ibn Khaldoun calls Amara, daughter of Said."*

The legend then relates that Abraham visited his absent son, and advised Ishmael to repudiate his first wife. We omit the details of this anecdote, as they are of no historical value.

"After this, two new tribes came and pitched their tents near the Amalika. These tribes were the children of Jorham and Katoora. The chief of the former was called Mudad, and of the latter, Samayda. The Amalika, not liking their arrival, determined to expel them. But for some time the men of this tribe had practised injustice and violence, and excited the displeasure of heaven. God, to punish them for profaning a land he had made sacred, raised up ants, who forced them to quit the place.

"The Jorham and Katoora remained then in possession of the

* CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, vol. i. p. 165.

country. Ishmael remained among them and allied himself to them by marrying the daughter of Mudad, the Jorhamite chief. Some call this woman Rala, others Sayyida."* This second marriage of Ishmael was approved by Abraham.

The legend introduces here the construction of the famous Caaba by Abraham and his son. We shall again refer to this part of the tradition when speaking of the worship of the Caaba, and therefore will not remark on it now.

Ishmael, add the Mahometans, filled the offices both of patriarch and prophet. He was charged by God to preach the true faith to the various populations of Arabia, and succeeded in converting the Jorham and Katoora. He died at the age of one hundred and thirty.

3. "Abraham and Ishmael," justly observes M. Caussin de Perceval, "must, in these traditions, be considered as symbolical personages, representatives of their posterity. Looked at in this light, the stories bear manifest traces of truth." The race of the Ishmaelites is seen increasing among the tribes who succeeded each other in Hejaz and Tehama. First the Amalika, of unmixed race, the most ancient inhabitants spoken of by history in this part of Arabia, were driven out by the coalition of the two new elements of the Jorham, belonging to the Joktanite race, and represented in the genealogy of the Book of Genesis by Almodad, with that portion of the Amalika henceforward subject to chiefs descended from Abraham and Keturah; and of the Katoora, the ancestors of the Midianites. The posterity of Ishmael, at least that portion of it described in Genesis as the eldest son, made alliance with the new possessors of the soil, dwelt among them, and rapidly increased in numbers and importance.

SECTION II.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE JORHAMITE SUPREMACY.

1. THE Arab traditions agree with the Bible as to the names of the twelve sons of Ishmael. We have already said that the greater part of the tribes represented by these personages settled in Nejed. One alone remained in Hejaz, especially in the Tehama, in the centre of the Jorham, these were the descendants of Nabit (Nebajoth), Ishmael's eldest son. The national traditions of Arabia are unanimous on this point. The Hebrew prophets also mention the people of Nebajoth as one of the greatest tribes of Arabia.

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* CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, vol. i. p. 168.

Nabit, say the Mahometan historians, succeeded his father, Ishmael, as guardian or minister of the Caaba. At his death, the care of the temple passed to the Jorham. This fact, inexplicable as given by Arab writers, would lead us to think that the Joktanite Jorham were the real founders of the Caaba; that the tradition of this fact was preserved till the time of Mahomet, and that the latter, in order to justify in his religious system the worship he still allowed to be paid it, invented the story of its having been constructed by Abraham and Ishmael.

2. The chief of the Jorham, who first held the office of guardian of the Caaba, is also called Modad. The posterity of Ishmael gathered around him, and, with Modad, settled in the northern portion of the land where, in much later times, was built the town of Mecca. The Katoora, who dwelt in the same country, fixed themselves in the southern part, with their chief, Samayda; and Modad and Samayda divided the authority. The former levied tribute from travellers entering on one side, the latter, on those coming by the other, in the locality occupied by the colony assembled near the Caaba.

This state of things did not last. Rivalry arose between the two princes, who each aspired to superior power. Finally, war broke out; the Ishmaelites sided with Modad. After a combat in which Samayda was killed, the conquered Katooras held a conference; some submitted to Modad, and recognised him as king of the country; the greater part retired northwards to the provinces in the vicinity of the Elamitic Gulf inhabited by the mass of the nation of the Katoora, or Midianites, where the Bible frequently mentions them. This battle between Modad and Samayda, add the Mahometan writers, was the first violation of the sacred territory of Mecca by a hostile encounter.

It would be idle to attempt, with some western critics, to identify the Modad and Samayda figuring in this story with the personages of the same name we have already met with in the legend of Ishmael. In neither case can these two names be considered as real. They were names common among the chiefs of the Jorham and Katoora, and, like that of Almodad in the Book of Genesis, are meant only to personify the struggle of these two races for the possession of the province of the Tehama, where Mecca was afterwards built.

3. The Katoora, or Midianites, once driven out, the Jorham for many centuries remained undisputed masters of the country. The tribe descended from Ishmael through Nebajoth dwelt among them, closely allied to, and on a footing of complete equality with, them. Feeble at first, the tribe in time increased in numbers and importance.

"It is almost superfluous to observe that the theatre of the facts relative to the primitive history of the race of Ishmael, instead of being

confined to the narrow space of the valley of Mecca, as in the Arab traditions, must be understood to have extended much further.

"The idea of a struggle between the families to whom Mecca is thus assigned as a residence, is the only fact given in Arab writers on the history of Ishmael for many centuries. There is here a great gap in the genealogy of the children of Ishmael; and, according to learned authors, there is no name that could with even an appearance of probability be placed there. After the generation of Nebajoth and Kedar, the first offshoot of the stock of Ishmael certainly known is Adnan, one of Mahomet's ancestors. The distance between Ishmael and Adnan is estimated by Tabari and other authors at forty generations. Ibn Khaldun thinks this figure is below the mark, and he is no doubt right."* Adnan, in fact, lived little more than a century B.C.

Section III.—Establishment of Israelitish Colonies at Khaybar and Yathrib.

1. The Arabs about Mecca lived there for many centuries under tents, in a permanent encampment. In this place there was no other building but the Caaba. The town itself was not commenced till after the Christian era. There were, however, from very early times, towns at Khaybar and Yathrib. These towns were founded by the Amalika, who, as we have already said, were the first known inhabitants of Hedjaz. According to the legend, Yathrib was built by, and named after, a chief of the Amalika. The land then abounded in springs, and was rich in date trees. Attracted by these advantages, the tribes established there became stationary, and devoted themselves to agriculture. Khaybar, Yathrib, and other districts in Hejaz, passed from the Amalika, at an unknown date, into the hands of Jewish colonists. The opinions of the Arabs differ on this point.

"Some say that an army sent by Joshua against the Amalika of Hejay, having exterminated this nation, a portion of the Israelites composing the expedition remained in the conquered country, and settled in Yathrib, Khaybar, and the surrounding districts."

"Others, particularly the author of the Aghani, place the destruction of the Amalika and the establishment of Jewish populations in their room a little earlier. Moses, say they, having entered Syria, ordered a considerable body of troops to massacre the Amalika, and not spare one. These troops invaded Hejaz, and conquered the Amalika they

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* Caussin de Perceval, vol. i. p. 178.

found there. But touched by the youth and beauty of the son of their king, Arcan, they gave him his life, but took him captive. Moses was dead when they returned to Syria to rejoin their nation, to whom they gave an account of their expedition. 'We have,' said they, 'killed all the enemies, but we had pity on this child, and brought him that Moses might decide on his fate.' They were answered, 'In disobeying the orders of the prophet who desired you to grant quarter to none, you have committed a crime. We will not receive you among us, nor suffer you to remain in Syria.' Thus repulsed by their brethren, the Israelitish soldiers returned to Hejaz, and settled in the land they had conquered, in Yathrib, and the neighbouring localities where they built habitations, and practised agriculture.

"Another tradition adds that David, forced by the revolt of his son, Absalom, to quit his kingdom, retired with the tribe of Judah to the Jews of Khaybar, and for several years reigned over them and their neighbours, until the defeat and death of Absalom allowed him to return to Jerusalem; from this time, say they, the Jewish colony in Hejaz was subject to the princes of the house of David, and was annexed to the kingdom of Judah."*

2. The discrepancies in these relations prove that there were but two facts clearly established by tradition—the original occupation of the country by the Amalika, and the existence of Jewish colonies, who, reinforced at various times by new arrivals of emigrants, maintained themselves there till the time of Mahomet. But nothing is certain as to the date of these colonies, and each of the Mussulman historians has attempted to invent a system to make them coincide with the confused notions of the history of the Israelites, introduced by the Koran among the Arabs.

Had these historians been able to refer directly to the Bible, they would have seen that the emigration of the colonists who settled in Hejaz is expressly mentioned, with the date, in 1 Chron. iv. 42, 43, where it is related how, under the reign of Hezekiah, "the sons of Simeon, 500 men, went to Mount Seir, having for their captains, Pelatiah, and Neariah, and Rephaiah, and Uzziel, the sons of Ishi. And they smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escaped, and dwelt there unto this day." This emigration of the Simeonites has been thought, as we have already said,† by a learned Dutch scholar, M. Dozy, to have gone as far as Mecca, and settled there; but there seems to be no sufficient foundation for such an assertion.

The Bible agrees with the traditions accepted by the majority of Arab writers, in stating that a remnant of the Amalekites was still

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* CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, vol. ii. p. 642. † Vol. i. p. 149.

existing when the Simeonite colonies settled at Yathrib and Khaybar. But they were no longer the sole masters of the country, nor even its only inhabitants. Ishmaelitish tribes had occupied several points, Tayma, for example; and the second Thamudites, a Joktanite tribe from Yemen, had settled in the district of Medain Saleh. But the dominant power was that of the powerful nation of the Jorham, sprung also from Joktan, who had gradually spread over all Hejaz, and made it the centre of a powerful empire, and of this we shall speak in the following section. Allowed by the Jorham to settle in their empire, the Simeonite emigrants formed the greater part of the population of Yathrib, Khaybar, and some other less important towns; but they did not spread beyond these three or four limited districts. Concentrated in their towns, they exercised no serious political influence, and followed all the vicissitudes of their adopted country.

SECTION IV.—EMPIRE OF THE JORHAM—ITS RELATIONS WITH THE ASSYRIAN MONARCHY.

1. ARAB traditions state that simultaneously with the establishment of the Joktanite dominion in Yemen by Yaarub, his brother, Jorham, conquered all Hejaz, and established there an empire that lasted many centuries. About the same time, therefore, as the destruction of the Adite monarchy, or in the beginning of the eighth century B.C., must be placed the establishment of a united monarchy, including all Hejaz, and in which the dominant power belonged to the powerful nation of the Jorham, sprung, like the second Sabæans, from Joktan, and who, settled at Mecca, possessed the guardianship of the Caaba, and driving the Midianites towards Arabia Petræa, spread over all the country.

But although the historians of Mahometan Arabia record, according to the traditions of their country, the existence of this Jorhamite empire, they know absolutely nothing of its history until its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar. But of late years the decipherment of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions has supplied us with unexpected materials to fill up this important gap in the annals of the Arab race.

The annals of the first Ninevite empire, before the disaster of Asshurlikhish, are silent on the subject of Arabia; those, at least, that are known at present. The Assyrian kings of this period, moreover, specially turned their attention eastward, and it was not till very late that they seriously busied themselves with the subjection of Syria and other countries west of the Euphrates. It does not appear that they

ever penetrated to the Arabian peninsula, and the only tribes they came in contact with in this direction were those immediately bordering on the right bank of the Euphrates, between that river and the great Syrian desert. These nomade tribes—some Aramæan, some purely Arab—threatened Mesopotamia itself in their incursions, and, consequently, the security of the very heart of the monarchy required their subjugation; and from the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. we find that they attracted the attention of the Assyrian monarchs.

In the time of the second Ninevite empire, when the Assyrian power arose from its ruins more formidable than ever, one of its principal objects became the complete subjugation of Syria and the assertion of the supremacy of the arms of Asshur in the west, by the conquest of Egypt and Arabia. The Assyrian monarchs soon became aware that the possession of Syria and Palestine was but precarious, unless they also made themselves masters of those two countries whence they were always liable to formidable invasions. This truth our crusaders in the Middle Ages discovered too late, and their ignorance of it was the principal cause of the disasters that led to the ruin of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem. The Assyrians, clever strategists, soon recognised it. 'From the reign of Tiglath-pileser II., while the expeditions into Syria became more frequent and important, and while it was attempted to bring the tributaries, often more nominal than real, into more perfect subjection, Arabia also attracted their notice, and the kings of Assyria attempted to extend over all the Arabian peninsula their own direct influence and suzerainty.

2. The Assyrian inscriptions of this period show us a compact and strongly constituted empire in Hejaz, with numerous and populous towns. The principal mentioned as belonging to this empire are Yathrib, inland, and Yanbo and Jiddah, on the sea. A king, obeyed by all the settled as well as by the nomadic tribes of the neighbourhood, governed this Arabian kingdom. This is undoubtedly the empire of the Jorham spoken of by Arab historians.

North of this state, the most important in the peninsula, there was another, without any particular distinctive name, and simply called in the inscription the "kingdom of Arabs." The capital was the great town of Ad Dumu, a name undoubtedly to be recognised with the Arab article in the Dumah of the Bible—the Doomat-el-Jendel of the Arabs of our days. This kingdom, much less extensive than that of the Jorham, included the provinces of Daumal, Jof, and perhaps the Jebel Shammar. It had one peculiarity, without analogy among any other Shemitic nation, that of a government invariably gynæocratic. A man could not wear the crown; it was a queen, instead of a king, who sat on the throne; and this queen was at the same time the priestess of the god Shems, the sun, the great god of this nation.

The tribes of the Syrian desert, from the borders of the Euphrates to the neighbourhood of Damascus, led a Bedouin life, as do those who live there now in our days. Every here and there, however, were to be found isolated towns, situated in the midst of the desert, like Palmyra, and these were more frequent near the Euphrates. Through all this district there was no fixed monarchy; the tribes generally lived in the wild independence of nomadic Arabs. The neighbouring empires sometimes succeeded in reducing them to obedience, but an obedience of a very temporary and incomplete kind. The Bedouin can never be completely subdued, for the desert itself guarantees his liberty.

With regard to Nejed, the information furnished by the Assyrian monarchs as to their own campaigns, gives us to understand that then, as now, all the fertile portions, intersected by ramifications of the desert, were inhabited by a settled and agricultural population, with numerous and flourishing towns. At one period we shall find that this vast country was dependent on the monarch of Hejaz; but the inscription whence we learn this seems also to indicate that this state of things was of recent date, the result, perhaps, of a conquest. It is, therefore, probable that the different provinces of Nejed, seemingly intended by nature to remain isolated, were for a long time subject to no great empire, and were independent even of each other.

3. The first mention of the Arabs found in Assyrian inscriptions is on the stele raised by Salmaneser IV., at the sources of the Tigris, and now in the British Museum.* In the enumeration of the contingents of the different kings conquered at Karkar by the son of Asshurnazirpal, together with the troops sent by Benhidri of Damascus, Sakhulina of Hamath, Ahab of Israel, Mathanbaal of Arvad, Baasa of Ammon, we find a "hundred camels of Djendib the Arab." The expressions are, however, so vague, that we are unable to arrive at anything positive as to the part of Arabia where this Djendib reigned. He must have been a sheik of one of the principal tribes of the desert in the neighbourhood of Syria, for the confederation defeated at Karkar was exclusively composed of Syrian princes; moreover, the Arab who joined it could not have been of much importance, as his contingent was so small.

We have already said that it is not until the second period of the Assyrian empire, and the reign of Tiglath-pileser II., that frequent mention is made of Arabia, and that the Ninevite supremacy is seen gradually extending over the peninsula. Tiglath-pileser II. mentions in monuments of different periods two queens of the Arabs of Dumah, as having been successively his tributaries; the first was called Zebibie, and the second Shamsie. From him we learn that these queens were

* See vol. i. p. 380.

also priestesses of the god Shems. The kingdom of Hejaz is not as yet mentioned. The Arabs of Dumah submitted voluntarily at first to the suzerainty of Tiglath-pileser, for the list of campaigns of this prince does not mention any directed against their country. To determine them to submit to tribute, a simple demonstration was no doubt sufficient, made during the prolonged siege of the town of Arpad, which resulted in the submission of all Syria. But in 733, Shamsie joined the revolt of Resin, king of Damascus, and Pekah, king of Israel, and in consequence, the following year, when Tiglath-pileser had taken Damascus and destroyed the independence of that great town, he directed his troops against the Arabs of Dumah. The Assyrian army took their town, killed many of them, and made a grand foray amongst their oxen, sheep, and camels. The Queen Shamsie fled to the desert, and thence sent her submission to the king of Assyria. In the cylinder inscription, Sargon tells us that when he had taken Samaria (721), and defeated at Raphia the united forces of Shabaka, king of Egypt, and Hanun, king of Gaza, he occupied a portion of his army on its return in chastising the Arab tribes who had taken advantage of the disorders consequent on the war to invade a portion of the kingdom of Israel, and ravage the new conquest of the Assyrian monarch. At the head of these tribes were the Thamud, of whom we have already spoken. Some years after (715), Shamsie, who still occupied the throne of Dumah, sent tribute to Sargon, with a solemn embassy to pay him homage; and so great was the renown of this prince through all Arabia, that Yataamir, king of Sheba, also sent in the same year an embassy and presents to him.

The commerce by caravans between Yemen and Syria, the principal source of the wealth of the tribes of Central Arabia, was then at its height. This was the period when the prophet Isaiah, in order to describe by material objects the future splendour of the spiritual Jerusalem, founded by the Messiah, said (Isaiah lx. 6, 7), "The mulitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come; they shall bring gold and incense; and they shall show forth the praises of the Lord. All the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered together unto thee; the rams of Nebaioth shall minister unto thee: they shall come up with acceptance on mine altar, and I will glorify the house of my glory."

4. Some of the prophecies also pronounced by Isaiah in the year when the Tartan, or general in chief of the Assyrian armies, was sent by Sargon against Ashdod (711), were addressed to the people of Kedar. "The burden upon Arabia. In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, O ye travelling companies of Dedanim. The inhabitants of the land of Tema brought water to him that was thirsty, they prevented with their bread him that fled. For they fled from the swords, from

the drawn sword, and from the bent bow, and from the grievousness of war. For thus hath the Lord said unto me, Within a year, according to the years of an hireling, and all the glory of Kedar shall fail: and the residue of the number of archers, the mighty men of the children of Kedar, shall be diminished: for the Lord God of Israel hath spoken it." (Isaiah xxi. 13-17.)

The fulfilment of these prophecies was, however, delayed for some years. Sennacherib tells us, in the inscription of the cylinder now in London, that after having, as soon as he had ascended the throne, conquered the Babylonian king, Merodach-baladan, he "attacked to ransom them" all the Arab tribes occupying the territory from the province of Yambul, at the mouths of the Shat-el-Arab, to that of Hagar, undoubtedly the Hedjer of Arab geography, the southern portion of Bahrein. From this time Gerrha and the adjacent country, the Dedan of the Bible, belonged to the masters of Babylon, and this city became their maritime depôt. We have already said that the great tribe of Kedar bordered on the province of Hedjer. Therefore, according to all appearances during this campaign—a vast razzia of which we have hardly any details—the people of Kedar must have been attacked and obliged to recognise the Assyrian supremacy, and the prophecy, although delayed, was accomplished.

It is only through a notice in an inscription of Esarhaddon, that we know of a great expedition made into Arabia by the same Sennacherib towards the end of his reign. The town of Doomat-el-Jendel was taken by assault, and many of its inhabitants led into captivity. We do not, unfortunately, know the name of the queen who then ruled. Sennacherib seems from some circumstances to have been the first monarch to receive the homage of the kingdom of Hejaz.

5. Esarhaddon his son turned his serious attention to Arabia, made a campaign into the heart of the peninsula, and penetrated further south than any other Assyrian king. "The city of Ad-Dumu," says he, in the prism now in the British Museum, "the city of the power of the Arabs, that had been taken by Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the father that begot me, I again attacked, and led away the inhabitants captive into Assyria. The ambassador of the queen of the Arabs came to Nineveh with many presents, and bowed himself before me. He implored me to restore their gods. I listened to his prayer. I restored the images of those gods that had been injured. I caused the praises of Asshur and the glory of my name to be engraved on those images. I brought them and gave them back to him. I nominated to the sovereignty of the Arabs, Tabuya, a woman from my harem. As the price of the gods I had restored to that land, I increased, by 65 camels, the tribute they had paid my father."* This is the last mention we find of

* See vol. i. p. 405.

the kingdom of Dumah; it appears shortly after to have disappeared, and we shall see, as we proceed, under what circumstances it most probably did so.

Esarhaddon then relates what he did with respect to another Arab kingdom, that of Hejaz. "The days of Haçan had drawn to a close. I put his son Yala on the throne. I increased his tribute beyond that paid by his father by ten minæ of gold, a thousand "birut" stones, and fifty camels of the most valuable species."

After making these arrangements, and taking as a basis for his operations the rich districts of the central plateau of the peninsula, Esarhaddon sent southward beyond the desert of Dahna an expedition that penetrated as far as the land of Bazi, and the granite mountains of the province of Khazu, situated in the interior of Hadramaut. "I killed eight kings in this country," says the proud conqueror. "I carried into Assyria their gods, their spoils, their treasures, and their subjects." At the head of their provinces he had conquered, Esarhaddon, placed Layli, king of Yadih, one of the towns of the country, who had hastened to submit to him. But after the time of Esarhaddon, these districts, separated by a vast desert from the rest of the empire, no longer remained dependent on the Assyrian monarchy, if even they did so up to the time of his death.

6. Yala occupied the throne but a very short time. When Asshurbanipal succeeded to the crown of Assyria, he had already been replaced by a personage whose relationship to him we do not know, Ywaite, son of Nuray, who at first was a faithful vassal of the Ninevite monarchy; and when Asshurbanipal made his second expedition into Egypt, Ywaite met him in the desert with a great number of camels carrying the water necessary for the Assyrian army. But afterwards, when Shamulshamugin revolted against his brother, with the aid of Teumman, king of Elam, and succeeded in forming a vast number of different nations into a confederacy that for a time seemed likely to overthrow the empire, the king of the Arabs of Hejaz joined in his revolt. He declared himself independent of Nineveh, called the populations of the peninsula to arms around his banner, and in a short time caused his authority to be recognised in all the central and northern portion of this vast country—in Nejed, and the deserts between Syria and the Euphrates. It is possible that these events may account for the disappearance of the kingdom of Dumah, which had been of importance in the time of Esarhaddon, and which is not mentioned in the recital of the war in Arabia by Asshurbanipal.

The text of this official account on the cylinder, now in the British Museum, has neither been published, nor completely analysed by any Assyriologist. We have been able to study it through the excellent copies made by M. Oppert from the original document. Unfortunately,

it is much mutilated, and presents many and large gaps, causing great obscurity. It is therefore impossible, especially after a rather cursory study, to give a connected translation of it, but we shall attempt briefly to relate its principal events.

Ywaite, not content with declaring himself independent, sent an army under the command of one of the most important sheiks of his states, Aym, the son of Their, to the help of Shamulshamugin and Teumman. This army was defeated by the Assyrians on the Lower Euphrates, but Asshurbanipal, who considered Elam as the principal seat of the war, passed by Arabia, in order first to reduce the Elamites to obedience. It was not till after Susa was taken and Ummanaldash, successor of Teumman, compelled to submit, that he turned against Ywaite and his Arabs. It required three successive campaigns to reduce them to submission.

The first took place in the ninth year of the reign of Asshurbanipal (659). Crossing the Euphrates, the king of Assyria successively took from the Arabs seven strong towns, one of which alone can be identified. Hirata, which we imagine to be the Arab town, bordering on Chaldæa, so celebrated under the name of Hira during the first centuries of the Christian era. The six others were called Azran, Udum, Yabrud, Beit Neni, Mukhat Khardje, and Sutakh. As far as we can gather from the text, particularly defective in this place, none of them were far from the Euphrates. Before venturing into the heart of the peninsula, and attempting the bold and dangerous enterprise of crossing the deserts, Asshurbanipal employed the first campaign in securing a solid base of operations on the Arab territory. The year following (658), the operations assumed quite another character, and one campaign carried the Assyrians through Yemama. The troops of Ywaite (for this prince is never mentioned as having himself taken part in the combat), were commanded by Aym, son of Their, and his brother, Abyate. The king of the Nabatheans, Nathan, who had thrown off the Ninevite yoke at the same time as the king of the Arabs of Hejaz, sent contingents of troops to help him, knowing well that, were the Arabs defeated, he himself would next feel the weight of the Assyrian monarch's anger.

Asshurbanipal, in the beginning of the campaign, passed the Euphrates more to the north than in the preceding year, and before marching to the places of which he had already taken possession, he assured himself of security in the rear; by reducing to obedience the country called Sukhi in the inscriptions of more ancient kings. He there took three towns, Naram-Ishtar, a name indicating a Chaldee-Assyrian origin, Hadatta, no doubt the Hadissa of our days, on the banks of the Euphrates, and Surib, which must have been on the border of the desert towards Hira. These first exploits were but preliminary to the great campaign now commencing. Well provided with the means of transport, and accompanied

by numerous camels carrying leathern bottles of water, the Assyrian army entered the desert, and followed the route now taken by Persian pilgrims from Mecca to Mesched-Ali in Nejed, for the routes through the desert remain invariably the same through all ages. The passage through the solitudes of sand, "the domains of thirst," as the cuneiform text says, was long and painful. They finally arrived at a place called Khurarin, "where the army drank water from a spring." The distances, indicated with great precision in the account, clearly prove that this place was situated in the Jebel Shammer of our days. Thence they bore down on Yerak, the most important town of the country, and took it by storm. We have already compared the name of this town with that of Jerah, one of the sons of Joktan in the Biblical genealogies. Still going south, but inclining eastward, in order to follow the cultivated plateau, Asshurbanipal then penetrated into the country of Bar. According to the indications of its site, we are tempted to identify it with the Lower Kasim. Asshurbanipal took possession of Azallah, the capital of the land of Bar, and proceeded on his victorious march. He crossed a narrow desert, probably the Nefud, separating Kasim from Nejed proper. This desert crossed, the first town they came to and conquered is called Yashammeh. There is now no town of that name, but the district north west of Nejed is in its most restricted sense still called Woshem, the ancient name but little altered. The important town afterwards mentioned must, according to the route followed by the expedition, be in the districts now the centre of the power of the Wahabees near Er-Riad or Derayeh. It was called Isdah, and was the capital of a king, Ayla, a vassal of Ywaite. The god Akh-es-Samain (the brother of the heavens), was worshipped there, and gave his name to the country. Quitting the land of Akh-as-Samain, the Assyrian army again crossed a desert "full of wild beasts, and where the birds of the air made not their nests." After this desert, they reached the district and town of Corassid. The first part of this name seems preserved in the present province of Cora, between Nejed and the Tehamah. This district, situated on the route still leading from the heart of the land of the Wahábees to the coast of the Red Sea, was the scene of the third campaign of Asshurbanipal in Arabia.

The second campaign terminated with the arrival of the Assyrians at Corassid. The central plateau of the peninsula had been traversed, and reduced to submission. There still remained to be conquered the land where was the centre of the power of Ywaite, the land of the Jorham, Hejaz, or the western flank of the chain of mountains running parallel to the Red Sea. But Asshurbanipal had been too successful to be desirous of stopping, and it required a third year of war (657) to complete his self-imposed task.

Leaving Corassid, the Assyrian troops marched westward, and soon arrived on the borders of the sea before Djisda. The identification of this name is easy; there is no doubt but that it is Jiddah, a town that with justice boasts of a very high antiquity. Asshurbanipal took it, and turning north, in order to cross Hejaz in its greatest length, he successively took by storm Yanbo and Yathrib. This last event terminated the war. King Ywaite, driven from his last refuge, implored peace, and the Ninevite monarch pardoned him on condition that his tribute was again increased. But he could not pardon the two sheiks who had directed and organised the defence of the country, Aym and Abyate, the sons of Their. Asshurbanipal caused Ywaite to surrender them, they were flayed alive, and their skins sent to Nineveh. The affairs of Arabia thus settled, the Assyrian king continued his march northward, and reached Syria through the land of the Nabatheans, who could not offer him much resistance, and whose king Nathan was also obliged to submit.

Section V.—Invasion of Nebuchadnezzar in Hejaz.

1. However hardly the Arabs may have been treated in the three campaigns of Asshurbanipal, a much greater misfortune awaited them seventy years later. Among the prophecies pronounced by Jeremiah, in the latter days of Jerusalem, against the countries of Moab, Ammon, and Edom, who sought to entice the kingdom of Judah into the fatal path of revolt against the Babylonian power, the successor to that of Nineveh, there were eloquent threats against the Arab populations, whom the devastating scourge would not spare—"Concerning Kedar, and concerning the kingdoms of Hazor, which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, shall smite; thus saith the Lord: Arise ye, go up to Kedar, and spoil the men of the east. . . . . And Hazor* shall be a dwelling for dragons, and a desolation for ever: there shall no man abide there, nor any son of man dwell in it" (Jer. xlix. 28, 33).

These predictions might well appear improbable at the time they were uttered, for the Arabs had regained their independence at the beginning of the decline of the Ninevite empire, in 625, and in no way interfered with the political affairs of Syria, and, consequently, nothing seemed likely to draw on them the vengeance of the terrible king of Babylon. Devoted to commerce, they thought of nothing but their

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* It has not yet been determined which district of Arabia is meant by Hazor.

caravans between Yemen and the Phœnician cities, as flourishing as ever, in spite of the rivalry in the navigation of the Red Sea, and of the interference with the sources of their great wealth by other nations. This was the time when Ezekiel, describing the prosperity of Tyre, and announcing its speedy ruin, said—"The men of Dedan were thy merchants; many isles were the merchandise of thine hand: they brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony. Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making: they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate. . . . Dedan was thy merchant in precious clothes for chariots. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these were they thy merchants. The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones and gold. Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants" (Ezek. xxvii. 15, 16, 20—23).

2. The very wealth acquired by the Arabs by means of this caravan commerce drew down the predicted evils on them. Nebuchadnezzar wished to become their master, and to secure the possession of a country which was the seat of so remunerative a traffic. We have already remarked that, besides this motive, the expedition of the Chaldæan conqueror into Arabia may have been intended to alter the route for the transit of merchandise across the peninsula; and, like the siege of Tyre, may have been part of a well-devised plan for changing the direction of Indian trade, and concentrating it at Babylon. However this may be, after the siege and capture of Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar invaded Arabia, at the head of the numerous army with which he had just conquered Syria. His principal efforts were directed against Hejaz, apparently passing by the populations inhabiting the plateau of Nejed; and as far as one can judge, his idea seems to have been less to conquer the whole peninsula than to make himself master of the commercial route to Yemen, and to reach quickly the latter country, whose accumulated treasures excited his cupidity. This expedition, more than once alluded to by the Hebrew prophets, is unfortunately recorded by no writer of classical antiquity, neither have we any official Babylonian account; for, as is well known, no inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar have as yet been discovered but those relative to his buildings. Arab traditions, however, have preserved the story of the ravages of the terrible Chaldæan conqueror, whose name in them is altered to Bokht-Nassar.*

The troops of the king of Babel, say these traditions, carried desolation and death throughout Hejaz. They reached Western Yemen,

* CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, vol. i. p. 181.

and carried away captive the tribes of Adhura and Wabar. In the province of Mecca, the scene of the most accurate tradition, Adnan, a descendant of Ishmael, gathered together the men of the Ishmaelitish tribe Nebajoth [Nabit], and the Joktanite Jorham, who composed the population of the country, and putting himself at their head, he attempted to stop the Chaldæans and protect the Caaba. A sanguinary battle took place at Dhat Irak. The Arab warriors were defeated and dispersed, some taking refuge in Yemen, some in the mountains of Hejaz. Nebuchadnezzar took with him to Babylon, as prisoners, the greater part of the inhabitants of the country.

3. When the conqueror, satisfied with his booty and his victory, had retired, the remnants of the population of the territory of Mecca, principally those belonging to the race of the Jorham, re-assembled, and took up once more their dwelling there. Adnan, who had played so important a part during the Chaldæan invasion, had died whilst hiding in the mountains. He left a son, called Maad, whom he had hidden on the arrival of the Chaldæans. Arabian historians who record this fact think that he sent him to Haran in Mesopotamia, but it seems more likely to have been Haran in Yemen.

Wherever may have been the place where Adnan hid his son to save him from the foreigners, Maad returned to his native land when he had grown to man's estate. He enquired whether there remained among the Jorham any member of the family of that Mudad who had expelled the Katoora from Mecca. The chief of the tribe, Jorham, son of Djahla, was pointed out to him, and he demanded of him his daughter, Maana, in marriage. From this union sprung a numerous race, that became in some degree a new Ishmaelitish nation.

This Adnan and Maad must not be mistaken, as is often done in the popular Arab traditions, for the two personages of the same name who appeared amongst their descendants six centuries and a half after, and from whom the genealogy of the Koreish continues uninterruptedly down to Mahomet. The similarity of the names, nothing unusual among these people, is the principal cause of the loss of all tradition respecting the generations of Ishmael's descendants between the first Maad and the second Adnan, or from the time of Nebuchadnezzar to the end of the first century of our era. The Arab genealogies all present a vast gap corresponding to this long interval of time.

4. The expedition of Nebuchadnezzar into Arabia had been but a vast foray, without serious political results. It is not even known whether the conqueror succeeded in maintaining during his lifetime his authority over those portions of the peninsula subdued by his arms. But in any case, soon after his death the Arab populations regained their full independence. When Cyrus took Babylon, and united to his empire its dependent provinces, Arabia was not of the number; and

the Achæmenian kings were never masters of Hejaz, or Nejed, nor did they ever attempt to become so, and the wild liberty of the inhabitants of the desert was never menaced by them.

The kingdom of Hejaz, although overrun and laid waste by the Chaldæan troops, was not destroyed. It still existed, and to its king must be applied what Herodotus says of the king of the Arabs, entirely independent of Persian authority, with whom Cambyses made a treaty of alliance, in order to secure for his army the means of crossing the desert that separates Egypt from Syria.

"There are no people who more religiously keep faith than the Arabs," says Herodotus.* "They plight faith with the forms following:—When two men would swear friendship, they stand on each side of a third; he with a sharp stone makes a cut on the inside of the hand of each, near the middle finger, and taking a piece from their dress, dips it in the blood of each, and moistens therewith seven stones lying in the midst, calling the while on Bacchus and Urania. After this the man who makes the pledge commends the stranger (or the citizen, if citizen he be) to all his friends, and they deem themselves bound to stand to the engagement. . . . When, therefore, the Arabian had pledged his faith to the messengers of Cambyses, he straightway contrived as follows:—He filled a number of camels' skins with water, and loading therewith all the live camels that he possessed, drove them into the desert, and awaited the coming of the army."

From that time history for several centuries makes no mention of the populations of Central Arabia, and it is not till after the Christian era that any information can be gained from their annals; during all the intervening period they are in complete obscurity, for all sources of information are here silent. Classical writers say nothing of the Arabs. Biblical history and the cuneiform inscriptions are silent. Even the popular traditions of Arabia itself record nothing of the history of the peninsula during five centuries.

Section VI.—Manners and Customs of the Ancient Arabs.

1. There is no eastern nation, perhaps none in the world, that has less changed since the beginning of historical times than the Arabs, the name of course being taken in its proper geographical and historical sense, as applied to the native populations of the peninsula, and not, as is commonly but erroneously understood, as including

* Her. iii. 8, 9.

those various nations, who, under the influence of Islamism, have adopted the Arab language. Such as they were, when Mahomet turned them from idolatry, such all the information we have describes them to have been, as far as we can trace back their history; and such we find them in the book of Genesis, in the history of Ishmael, or of Joseph, and represented in the bas-reliefs of the palace at Nineveh, depicting the scenes of the war of Asshurbanipal. Such they still are now; for of all the races to whom Islamism has been preached, those on whom its action has been least powerful and durable are undoubtedly the Arabs. Nearly everywhere throughout the peninsula, except around Mecca or Medina, or in the centre of the Wahabees, the old manners and customs have triumphed over Mussulman practices, and the Sabæan faith preserved intact under the varnish of external Mahometanism, and even sometimes without it. Thus all that the modern travellers who have traversed and studied Central Arabia, such as Niebuhr, Burckhardt, and Palgrave, say of the manners and customs peculiar to the inhabitants of this vast country, is also applicable to the remotest times, and might be considered as a description by a traveller of antiquity.

2. The great northern desert separating the Arabian peninsula from Syria and the Euphrates, and the belt of sand that in the centre surrounds Nejed, divides it into distinct provinces, and cuts off communication by land, have always favored the nomadic habits of a large portion of the inhabitants of Arabia. But it must not be imagined that the nomades were the more numerous. The common idea of the Arab is as a wanderer, inseparable from his tent, his lance, and his camel; but this is a great mistake; the wandering shepherds are but a small fraction of the Arab family; even now the land in the peninsula occupied by settled and agricultural populations, is three or four times larger than Great Britain; three or four million Arabs cultivate the soil and build houses on it, whilst the Bedouins who wander in the deserts, are not more than a million, and several of this number even are peasants from the frontiers of Syria and Mesopotamia, who, flying from the vexations of Turkish administration, have quitted the plough for the tent.

When Mahomet appeared, the settled portion was still more numerous, as is proved by the immense quantity of ruins covering the soil. And this was the case also in the remote ages of which we write. The description given of these countries in the Assyrian inscriptions proves this fact. On the right bank of the Euphrates, where now there are none but nomadic tribes, these inscriptions place flourishing states, like those of Kindana and Sukhi—populous towns, and territories where a large portion of the desert had been reclaimed by culture; and behind these were the nomades of Patin. In Syria the cultivated zone and the towns as described in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings reached to the extreme limit of the barren sands. In Nejed and Hejaz,

Asshurbanipal encounters throughout his expedition numerous great towns, very few of which now remain. We do not speak of Yemen, but how different even its condition is now from what it then was. It is enough to say that nomadic hordes now encamp among the ruins of Mareb and Sabota, and cannot understand how these gigantic ruins could have been raised by human hands.

But although settled, and living in towns, the Arabs always preserved the fundamental characteristics of their originally nomadic race. They were in ancient times, as now, closely related to the Bedouin. Amongst them have always been found the characteristic traits of the Joktanites and Ishmaelites, a taste for adventure and travelling, facility of moving, and the tendency to split up a nation into tribes. Their sole political system and social organisation was, as now, the tribal system, with its semi-barbarous feudalism, its incessant civil wars, and permanent disorder. Doubtless states of some importance were formed in ancient times in Central Arabia—we are not speaking of Yemen—as for example the kingdom of Dumah, or that of the Jorham of Hejaz. But the facility with which these states, although defended by deserts, fell before the Assyrian or Chaldæan invasions, proves how slight was their unity or cohesion, and how the spirit of localism, and the division into tribes, left but scant space for the action of the central power of the monarchy. No empires, as we understand the word, could be founded in Arabia. Even the caliphs in the middle ages were obliged, as soon as their empire was founded, to transport the seat of its power from the peninsula, and the first tribes who escaped from the sceptre of the successors of Mahomet were those from whom had sprung the companions of the prophet.

3. The Arab character has always been composed of contrasts. They are—for here we will employ the present tense, the Arabs of the present day resembling the portrait drawn in the poetry and other documents anterior to Islamism—they are therefore both liberal and rapacious, inviolably faithful to an oath between private individuals, yet always ready to betray their allies. Their character is excessively facile, as is seen in all their actions. They have an innate taste for fighting, and a violent love for even disorderly liberty. In their habits of life they seek their ease, and will not be constrained by punctilious regulations. They are more violent than sanguinary. They profess sentiments of honor, as they understand the word, and are always careful of their reputation among other Arabs. Determined thieves, a life of highway robbery is no disgrace with them, but possesses even a certain prestige. It is the act of a true warrior to make forays on the territory of the populations which surround them, and even on that of other Arab tribes.

The Arabs are often eloquent, and from the remotest antiquity have

been passionately fond of music and poetry. Their best works in this latter art are anterior to Mahomet, and the national historians quote several pieces preserved by tradition, and according to them, dating back even to the very time of the history which we have attempted to relate. To whatever class they belong, the Arabs are remarkable for their easy manners. Their politeness is delicate, their hospitality proverbial, and selected by their ancient poets, in preference to all other virtues, as the subject of verse.

The Arabs are courageous, but in a manner peculiar to themselves—rash and uncertain, sometimes rising to acts of foolish heroism, but never to be relied on, as they are apt to pass suddenly into most abject cowardice. It is the courage of the nomad, who knows that he can always find a safe asylum in the desert, and who, after having entered on the combat with an ardour often irresistible, flees without shame when his attack fails. The settled Arabs, however, display great steadiness and more reliable valor when their homes are attacked, and when they fear to lose their last refuge.

4. These are the characteristics of the ancient Arab, still unchanged by time. But though morally and physically the same, they have abandoned some customs of pagan antiquity since the time of Mahomet's teaching. These customs existed in the ages we have been studying, several are expressly mentioned, and must be added to complete our picture of the ancient Arab.

Unlimited polygamy prevailed among them. Every one could marry as many wives as he could maintain, and repudiate them at will. A widow was considered as a sort of integral part of the heritage of her deceased husband. Hence the frequent unions between step-sons and mothers-in-law, which, when subsequently forbidden by Islamism, were branded with the name *micath-el-makt*, "shameful marriages."

A much more revolting custom, and even more unnatural, was, that parents buried their daughters alive, *wad-el-benat*. Often, and quite as a matter of course, without incurring public reprobation, the Arabs, when a daughter was born to them, instantly buried her, either unwilling to share their means of subsistence with a being incapable of aiding them, or, from ferocious pride and exaggerated sentiments of honor, they wished to avoid the shame that might be reflected on them should their daughter be ever carried off and dishonored by their enemies.

Nevertheless, the Arabs had a sort of chivalrous respect for women. Notwithstanding their habits of polygamy, the condition of their women was superior to that of those of most other Oriental nations. Antar, the hero of ante-Islamic Arabian romance, kills a man because he has "failed in respect to Arab women." As we know, the sovereign and pontifical authority were both exercised by a queen in the kingdom of Dumah. When the ancient Arabs marched to battle, a custom, still

in force among certain Bedouin tribes of Nejed, obliged them to have in their midst a young virgin mounted on a camel, around whom gathered the combatants, and who encouraged the brave, whilst shaming cowards by her sarcasms.

The Arabs cultivated the vine in nearly all portions of their territory, and were fond of wine. In order to prevent habitual drunkenness, so common among the Arabs, Mahomet strictly prohibited in the Koran the use of wine. Ancient poetry proves that in the pagan ages, and during the time of the Jorham empire, gambling and drinking exploits were subjects for boasting. Games of chance were common amongst the Arabs, and were always in the form of a sort of lottery. In that called *maycar*, lots were drawn for the limbs of a dismembered camel, and bets made on the result of the drawing. In another, blunt arrows were put in a bag, and each drew one. So great was the passion for these games that men, after having lost all their property, risked even their own persons and their liberty.

5. The virtues most esteemed by the ancient Arabs, as well as by those of our days, were warlike valour, liberality and hospitality. They were almost completely ignorant, and had learned nothing of art or science from the great civilisations that surrounded them on all sides. Their astronomy merely consisted of discerning in the heavens some stars that served to direct their march in the midst of the desert, and to a few observations as to the agreement between the rising of some of these stars and the succession of the seasons. Their year was purely lunar, with no intercalation to correct the great difference between the lunar and solar year; thus the months and their accompanying religious feasts occurred successively, and tolerably quickly, in all seasons of the year. Not till the fifth century A.D. did the Arabs attempt to remedy the inaccuracy of their lunar year by an intercalation clumsily imitated from that which the Jews derived from the Chaldæo-Assyrian civilisation. This, however, did not long remain in use, and was abolished by Mahomet. In history they cared for nothing but their genealogies, and the preservation of the oral traditions proving the purity of blood in their tribes. All their traditions, all their learning, as well as the poetry for which they already had the most passionate liking, was preserved only by memory; for though the Sabæans of Yemen had early learned from the Phœnicians the idea and use of alphabetical writing, though the inhabitants of Arabia Petræa, the Edomites and the Midianites used the same alphabet as the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine, the Arabs proper, those of Hejaz and Nejed, were, till an astonishingly late period, strangers to this art, the indispensable basis of all real civilisation. They did not begin to write till the sixth century A. D., under the influence of Christian Syria.

6. Notwithstanding the value attached to their genealogies and the

privileges of blood, the Arabs, especially the inhabitants of the towns, did not preserve their race pure from all mixture. The Joktanites and Ishmaelites became so intermingled from frequent alliances, that after a certain period they are indistinguishable. It is true they both boasted of a common origin, and considered themselves equal in point of nobility. But the infiltration of negro blood in all parts of the peninsula, which one day will probably quite change the race, began very early. It first occurred in Yemen, often in communication with Africa from its geographical situation and its commerce; when the first Adite Sabæans crossed from the other side of the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, a great number of negroes settled in Southern Arabia, either as slaves or emigrants. "Negroes from the land of Pun," or Yemen, are mentioned in several Egyptian texts, among others in a chapter of the "Funereal Ritual," of which we have copies dated in the nineteenth dynasty. The same admixture was both later and slower in Hejaz and in Nejed, but it took place there also much earlier than is generally admitted. The hero of ante-Islamic Arabian romance, Antar, was a mulatto through his mother, but his purely African face does not prevent his marrying a princess of one of the tribes proudest of their nobility; while these crosses were common, and had long been so, in the centuries immediately preceding Mahomet.

SECTION VII.—RELIGION.

1. THE accounts given by the authors of the Mahometan period of the ancient paganism of their country mostly relate to a period far later than the one we are now treating of. They are extremely confused, and it is difficult to disentangle the facts of the case. However, by attentively studying and comparing them with what we know of the religions of the Tigro-Euphrates basin, Syria, Phœnicia, and Yemen, we may state with the Comte de Vogüé, that it was a religion of the same family, drawn from similar sources, and imbued with the same principles. But of all this group of plainly-connected and well-characterised religions, it was the coarsest, the least scientific, the most disfigured by popular tradition, as might naturally be expected from the state of culture of the Arab populations.

The fundamental notion of the primitive unity of the Divine Being, who was hardly to be distinguished from the universe, His work—which was the basis of all the religions just mentioned, and already discussed at length in this Manual—was never completely obliterated among the Arabs. Though each tribe had its gods, or rather its special divinity,

all agreed in acknowledging one single and supreme God, called the Divinity, Allah; the Supreme Divinity, Allah taala. This was so marked, that later, in the times immediately preceding Mahomet, an entire religious sect, whose members called themselves *hanyfes*, professed an absolute and purely spiritual monotheism, no doubt borrowed from Jewish and Christian ideas, and yet asserted that they followed the religion of Ishmael, appealing to the worship of Allah to prove that they were not acting contrary to national tradition.

The antiquity of the worship of Allah is established by all Arab traditions, and by all the national historians, who appear to consider it to have been specially propagated among the Joktanite tribes by Ishmael and his descendants. It is certain that in the geographical information furnished by the cuneiform inscriptions, as to the state of Arabia in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., Allah is several times found as an element in the names of important places, such as Az-Allah, Sham-Allah, and others.

2. Beneath this common belief in one sole deity, Allah, the religion of the Arab tribes of Nejed and Hejaz admitted the existence of an infinite number of secondary divine personages, varying with each tribe and each locality. These almost exactly coincide with those we have already mentioned as adored in the various religions of Syria and the Tigro-Euphrates basin; they have merely changed their names and their localities. The solar divinity, the Creator, who was known to the inhabitants of Syria as Baal, Melkarth, Adonis, and by other similar names, was in Arabia, at various times and places, named *Akh-es-Semain*, *Urotal*, *Isaff*, *Wadd*, *Manaf*, *Yaguth*, *Yauk*, *Hobal;* the female lunar divinity was *Alilat*, *Naila*, *Sawaha*, *Monat*, instead of Ashtoreth, Baalath, and Tanith, as at Sidon, Gebal, or Carthage. The distinction of the various divine hypostases had originally, in Arabia, been geographical; each tribe had its own divinity, or, rather, worshipped the Divine Being in some special form or manifestation, and under a local name. The result was a practical polytheism, in many cases giving rise to the grossest fetichism. All these local divinities, originally various manifestations of the same deity, were in the end believed to be distinct beings, sometimes antagonistic, and divided by the quarrels of their worshippers, but more often associated in public veneration.

It is sufficient to read the lists of deities made by some learned men —Pocock, in particular—from the Arab historians, in order fully to recognise their local character, each tribe, each important place, having its own special deity. We will not repeat all these names, as very many belong to the history of times subsequent to the period included in this work; for paganism lasted much longer in Arabia than in the rest of Western Asia. We will merely refer to those divine personages

whose worship was the oldest and most celebrated:—*Rodha*, whose temple, the most venerated in all Nejed, was in the Yemana, but the exact site is unknown; *Dhu-l-Calat*, who was worshipped at Sendad, near the Euphrates; *Al-Lat*, a female divinity, whose sanctuary was at Tayf, not far from Mecca, evidently the *Alilat* of Herodotus*; *Monat*, worshipped at Codayd, between Mecca and Yathrib, whose image has been found on an Egyptian bas-relief in the island of Philæ, called "the lady of Arabia;" *Al Ozza*, the object of worship at Nakhla, near Mecca; *Yaguth*, the divinity of the Benu Madhij; *Yauk*, the deity of the Benu Murad, on the frontier of Yemen; *Sawaha*, a goddess, whose temple was at Rohat, in Tehamah. To these must be added *Akh-es-Samain*, mentioned on the cylinder of Asshurbanipal as one of the deities of Nejed; and the *Urotal* of Herodotus,† originally, no doubt, *Urtaal*, "the supreme light," according to all appearances worshipped in the same neighbourhood where *Al-Lat*, with whom he is associated by the father of history, was adored.

3. Sabæism formed a large part in the religion of the Arab tribes. *Urotal*, as his name, as well as the comparison made by Herodotus between him and the Grecian Dionysus, indicates, was essentially a personification of the sun; so also were *Yaguth*, *Yauk*, and *Sair* (the fire), the special divinity of the Anaza, one of the oldest tribes, sprung from Maad. We already know that the sun, under the name of *Shems*, was the god in whose temple the queen of Dumah officiated as chief priest; we shall afterwards find him worshipped by the *Benu Temim*, one of the great Maadic tribes of Nejed, as *Shems-es-Samain*, a name in some degree resembling that of *Akh-es-Samain*, whose worship is mentioned, somewhere in this locality, by the cylinder of Asshurbanipal. Some tribes worshipped the moon; but we do not know whether, like the Sabæans of Yemen and the Babylonians, they considered that planet as a male personage. Others adored the planets—*Zuhal* (Saturn), *Al Moshtari* (Jupiter), *Atared* (Mercury); or the stars—*Al-debaran* (the eye of the bull), *Suhail* (Canopus), *Al Shaari lobur* (Sirius); and some tribes even worshipped the whole of the heavenly host.

The external forms of worship, and the manner of representing these divinities, were such as might be expected from a people with such tendencies as the Arabs—with such tendencies to pure fetichism. Idolatry, properly so called, was not established till a late period, and when a certain degree of culture prevailed in a great part of the peninsula. It is known, for example, that it was not till the first years of the third century A.D., that Amru-ebn-Lohai brought to Mecca, from the town of Areopolis, or Ar Moab, the statue of the Syrian god Hobal, and set

* Her. iii. 8. † Ibid.

it up in the Caaba, which till then had contained only the famous black stone. Esarhaddon, however, mentions the idols of the town of Dumah, that had been taken as trophies to Nineveh, and which he restored afterwards at the request of the people.* One of these statues evidently was that of *Shems*, another must have been that of *Wadd* (love), who, as subsequent evidence proves, was the principal deity of Doomat-el-Jeudel, the Dumah of the Bible, the Ad-Dumu of the cuneiform texts. We also know that from a very remote period *Sawaha* was represented as a woman, *Yaguth* as a lion, *Yauk* as a horse; and as these three divinities belonged to tribes bordering on Yemen, they were probably influenced by the customs of that province.

The Arabs very generally worshipped sacred trees, such as the famous thorn (*Spina Ægyptiaca*), at Nakhla, where a temple was built around it; or the celebrated date tree (*Dhat-anvat*), in the vicinity of Mecca. They also venerated sacred stones, most of them, no doubt, aerolites, like the Syrian bætylia. The famous black stone of the Caaba, said to have fallen from heaven, was one of these; and Mahomet, though he destroyed all other idols, did not venture to interfere with the adoration paid to this stone.† The goddess *Al-Lat*, of Tayf, was represented by a rough stone, as was also *Monat*, at the sanctuary of Codayd. In the valley of Mina, the scene of one of the principal acts of the pilgrimage to Mecca, were seven sacred stones, three of which are still standing. The seven stones mentioned by Herodotus,‡ in the midst of which the Arabs stood to give an unusually solemn and sacred character to an oath, were also bætylia. The number of sacred stones in these two instances is worth noting, for it agrees with that of the known planets, and proves that among the ancient Arabians this worship was closely connected with the planetary and sidereal form of their religion. This was also the case in the Euphrates basin, and in Syria; the Chaldæans of Erech had also their "temple of the seven black stones," mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions.

4. Below these gods, all personifications of the attributes of *Allah*, the supreme and absolute deity, the Arabians believed in an inferior order of emanations, in innumerable legions of secondary spirits, who are compared to angels by the Mussulman writers, but were described as of the female sex, and called *Benat Allah*, "daughters of God." § They also believed in the existence of geni, *Jinn*, whom men could

* Vol. i. p. 405.

† See on this subject the preliminary discourse to SALE'S *Koran*, section 1.

‡ HER. iii. 8.

§ This expression is strongly condemned in the Koran, expressly in chap. xvi., and again, by implication, in "The declaration of God's unity," chap. cxii.

rule by the help of magic, *sihr;* and in that of evil spirits, *ghouls*, similar to the ogres of our popular superstitions.

Divination, *kehana*, was held in much honour by the Arabians. It was generally practised in the temples. Seven blunt arrows (*kidah* or *azlam*) were taken, each of a different colour, or bearing a peculiar mark, they were mixed in a bag, and one was drawn out and inspected by the diviner, who deduced from it the oracle.*

5. The ideas of the pagan Arabs on the fate of the soul after death were very rude and vague. "Some thought that man's career ended with death; others believed in a resurrection and in another life, and, when they lost a relation or friend, killed a she-camel over the grave, or tied it there and allowed it to die of hunger, persuaded that it would rise again with its master, and serve to mount him when he presented himself at the judgment-seat of Allah. According to them, the soul, when separating from the body, flew away in the shape of a bird, called *hama* or *sada*, a species of screech-owl, that incessantly flew around the tomb of the deceased, giving plaintive cries, and telling him what his children were doing.† If the individual had been murdered, the bird cried, '*Escûni*,' ('give me drink'), and continued to repeat this word, until the relations of the dead man had avenged him by shedding the blood of his murderer."‡

6. Each tribe had its diviners, *Kahin* and (female) *Arrafa*. Some families, by hereditary right, possessed the privilege of the guardianship and service of certain temples, and exercised functions there similar to those of the Grecian *neōcŏros*. But there was no regular priesthood exclusively privileged to offer sacrifices and conduct worship. On solemn occasions, the head of the family filled the office of priest and sacrificer for his family. It is not known whether the Arabs proper, like the Sabæans in the south of the peninsula, were obliged to repeat regular prayers at certain hours of the day. But even had this obligation existed, the Bedouin tribes would hardly have attended to it any more than they do now to the prayers prescribed by Mahometan law. The worship in the temples consisted of two principal things—the sacrifice offered by the individuals themselves, generally of camels; and the circuits (*tawaf*) around the sanctuary repeated seven times, whilst pronouncing the prescribed invocations.

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* Compare Ezek. xxi. 21, 22.

† Compare the frequent Egyptian representations of the soul in the form of a bird.

‡ CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL, i. p. 349.

SECTION VIII.—THE HADJ, OR PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA.

1. WE have in the preceding chapter said a few words on the importance, among the Semitic pagans, of the pilgrimages to various sacred sites at certain fixed feasts. The Arabs of Hedjaz and Nejed had several such pilgrimages, the most celebrated and important of all being to the Caaba at Mecca. Common to all portions of the peninsula, to Yemen or Arabia Petræa, as well as to Hedjaz or Nejed, to the Sabæans and Nabatheans, as well as to the Arabs proper, Joktanites, or Ishmaelites, this was, until the promulgation of Islamism, the sole national bond between the Arabian tribes of various origin. The Hadj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, is therefore a fact of great importance in the history of the peninsula, and deserves special notice.

A conclusive passage in Diodorus Siculus* mentions the Caaba as, even in the time of the Cæsars, the most universally venerated shrine in Arabia, and the pilgrimage, as performed without distinction by members of all the tribes. The Arab traditions, however, unvarying on this point, take us back much farther. In the time of the empire of the Jorham, the Hadj is mentioned as already customary, and as bringing together a vast concourse of people. These Joktanite Jorham are described as the first guardians of the Caaba; and therefore, as we have already remarked, it appears probable that they constructed the temple, and that it was originally their own national sanctuary, even if, as seems probable, it had been built by the Amalika, their predecessors in the country. An Arab legend asserts that this famous temple was erected by Abraham and his son Ishmael with the aid of the angel Gabriel.† Mahomet lent his authority to this legend, and devoted to it several chapters in the Koran,‡ and thus it became one of the Mussulman articles of faith. Even before the introduction of Islamism this story was current through great part of Arabia, and spread abroad in proportion as the Ishmaelitish tribes gained ground. It does not, however, appear to be of very ancient date, and cannot be reconciled with the incontestable fact that the Jorham, and not the descendants of Ishmael, were originally, and for many centuries, in possession of the guardianship of the Caaba.

2. This temple, whose name "square house" indicates its form, is still preserved; it was very small, and of very rude construction. It was not till comparatively recent times that it had a door with a lock;

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* DIOD. SIC., iii. 41, 42.
† See SALE'S *Koran*, Preliminary Discourse, sec. iv.
‡ *Koran*, ch. ii. 22.

several times in ancient ages it was overthrown by the torrents caused by rains. A Mussulman author, Shaharistani, who does not implicitly believe in the legends embodied in the Koran, states that, according to ancient tradition, it was first consecrated to *Zuhal* (the planet Saturn). For a long time the sole sacred object it contained was the celebrated black stone, *hadjar-el-aswad*, an aerolite, which is still the object of Mussulman veneration. The Mahometan legend relates that it was brought from heaven by the angel Gabriel,* and this story plainly arises from one of the legends as to the celestial and miraculous origin of the Bætylia common in all the temples in Syria, where similar stones were worshipped. We have already mentioned Hobal, the first anthropomorphic idol, placed in the Caaba. This example was soon copied; all the tribes who performed the *hadj* set up, either in the sanctuary or in the enclosure surrounding it, the images of their own deities. The Caaba thus became a sort of Arabian Pantheon, and even the Virgin Mary, with her child on her knees, eventually found a place there. Besides this, there were 360 statues on the roof, corresponding to the days of the lunar year, thus proving the sidereal and astronomical character of the worship that, from remotest ages, attracted the Arabs to Mecca.

The veneration attached to the Caaba itself and the surrounding ground was so great that for many centuries no fixed abode or houses were constructed in the vicinity of the sanctuary. The day was passed by the pilgrims at Mecca in the precincts of the peculiarly sacred ground; but in the evening, to show their profound respect, they all retired to a distance. In the fifth century A.D., Kosai, the founder of the power of the tribe of the Koreishites, built the town of Mecca. In order to do this, he was obliged, notwithstanding the repugnance of his own companions, to cut down the sacred grove of date trees described by Diodorus Siculus† as surrounding the temple.

3. The pilgrimage to the Caaba seems always to have been, as now, on the tenth day of the twelfth month of the year. The Arabian year, as we have already said, was lunar, and so this period advanced eleven days each year. The twelfth month, called *dhu-l-hidja*, "month of pilgrimage," very soon became a sacred month, and during it all wars between the different tribes were suspended. It was a species of *God's truce*, wisely instituted among a people addicted to war and pillage. It helped to prevent the different tribes from destroying each other; gave some moments of security to commerce, and allowed pilgrims to satisfy their devotion without peril. The truce, often violated, not-

* SALE'S *Koran*, Preliminary Discourse, sec. v.
† DIOD. SIC. iii. 42.

withstanding its religious character, began in the previous month, which was therefore called *dhu-l-cada*, "month of the opening." These names are still in use.

The expressions used by Diodorus Siculus lead us to infer that, in his time, the *hadj* was quinquennial. In later times it became annual, and was so when Mahomet began to preach. In the combination of the ancient superstitions of Arabia with portions of the Jewish and Christian doctrines, by which Mahomet formed his religion, the Caaba was the principal sanctuary of worship, the "house of God" *par excellence*, (*beit Allah*). The worship of the *black stone*, idolatrous as it was, was permitted by Mahomet, who could not on this point entirely suppress the deeply-rooted superstitions of his country; but he at the same time explained and justified this veneration by legends attributing the origin of the Caaba to the direct action of the Deity, and he thus reconciled the old superstition with his newly-introduced Monotheism. The institution of the *hadj* was maintained. All good Mussulmans were obliged to perform the pilgrimage at least once in their life time. The ceremonies, too, remained nearly the same. Although the religion of Arabia is completely changed, the pilgrims to Mecca of our days do just as did those of the remote ages spoken of in this Manual. We shall, therefore, briefly mention what constituted the ceremonies of the *hadj* in ancient times, and remark on the few points modified by Mahomet.

4. The first act of the *hadj*, on entering the sacred territory, was to assume the *ihram*, or "holy garment," which was worn till the end of the ceremonies. This garment, substituted for the pilgrim's ordinary dress, now consists of two pieces of white stuff—one envelopes the loins, the other is thrown over the neck and shoulders so as to leave part of the right arm uncovered. This primitive costume was probably used in the earliest ages of the pilgrimage.

At Mecca the devotions of the pilgrims consisted in visiting the holy places, or *omra*, which is done in the seventh month of the year, a month of truce, like the eleventh and twelfth. This month was called *mouharram*, or "holy month," and this name has, since the introduction of Islamism, been transferred to the first month of the year. The pilgrim first visited the Caaba, worshipped the black stone, and respectfully kissed it: then made around the edifice the seven sacramental circuits, *tawaf*. He then paid his devotions somewhere in the vicinity, but no doubt still in the enclosure of the date palm grove, to the two hills, Safa and Marwa,* where originally stood the two sacred stones which were replaced in the third century A.D. by the idols Asafai and Mazel—one representing a man, the other a woman. These idols, like

* *Koran*, ch. ii. "The Cow."

the sacred stones, have now disappeared; but the Mussulman pilgrims, after the example and precept of Mahomet, still pay their devotions at Safa and Marwa. The Koran, to explain this preservation of pagan customs by the prophet, alleges that it was between these two eminences that Hagar wandered in despair, running from one to the other, before the angel showed her the miraculous spring. During their circuits round the Caaba the ancient pilgrims were entirely naked, to show, by this symbolical act, that they had put off their sins. Mahomet abolished this part of the custom.

Then, as now, the pilgrimage was not confined to visiting the sanctuary of Mecca. The principal and essential act was going to Mount Arafat, a sacred mountain, which was considered a divinity in itself, as also were Casius, Hermon, and other mountains in Syria. Islamism has preserved the station at Arafat, and is still the chief object of the *hadj*. This mountain, say the Mahometan traditions, is holy from the tradition of the meeting of Adam and Eve after a long separation.* There is evidently here the trace of an old mythological legend, put into Biblical form, and adapted by Islamism.

On returning from Arafat to Mecca, as is still the custom of the hadjis, they visited the seven upright stones in the valley of Mina,† representing the seven planets. Every pilgrim threw at the foot of each of the seven stones three pebbles, and this ceremony was repeated three times in two days. A similar usage, arising from some symbolism we are ignorant of, existed in some localities in Syria and Phœnicia, and has been noticed by the learned Movers. When Mahomet appeared he allowed but three stones to remain in the valley of Mina, alleging that they indicated the three places where the devil had appeared to Adam. Having thus reduced the number of stones, he ordained that henceforward seven pebbles should be thrown at each; and this is done by the pilgrims of our days, so that the total number of pebbles thrown is still the same sacred number, 21 [3 × 7].

After the ceremony of throwing the stones, and before returning to make for the last time the *tawaf* at the Caaba, the solemn sacrifice of the pilgrimage took place in the valley of Mina; for it appears that from earliest times it was forbidden to shed the blood of the victims in the sacred wood surrounding the sanctuary of Mecca. When the last circuits had been made round the "sacred house," the pilgrim put off the *ihram*, and set out to return to his tribe.

Such were, and such still are, the ceremonies of the *hadj*. Although the Mussulman religion has perpetuated them to the present time, they date from the highest antiquity, and, as we have just seen, have undergone

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* *Koran*, chap. ii.

† SALE'S *Koran*, Preliminary Discourse, sec. 4.

but slight changes during the course of centuries. Doubtless at first this worship was of small importance. The Caaba, at the beginning, may have been the sanctuary of a small portion only of the Jorham tribe. All indications seem to show that for a long time the worship of the black stone and at Mount Arafat was peculiar to this nation, and that the Jorham alone made the pilgrimage. But little by little the renown of the sanctuary spread from place to place through the different portions of the peninsula; the Caaba then became the national and religious centre of all the Arab tribes. It is probable that the political power of the Jorham from the eighth to the fifth centuries B.C., and the temporary extension of their empire over all Hedjaz and Nejed, contributed to bring about this result. It is certain that before the Christian era the worship of the Caaba was fully established, and that the existence of such a common centre exercised in later times an important influence on the destinies of Arabia.

CHAPTER IV.

ARABIA PETRÆA.

SECTION I.—NATURAL DIVISIONS AND POPULATIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

1. NATURE herself has divided Arabia Petræa into three very distinct districts. The first includes the mountainous district of Sinai, between the two gulfs at the north of the Red Sea, and the vast desert adjoining these mountains and between Egypt and Palestine. The second is composed of the mountains separating the southern point of the Dead Sea from the Elamite Gulf, surrounding the valley of Petra, and of the mountains of Seir (the Djebel Sheraa of our days), which rise to the east and form the frontier of the desert. The third division, touching on Northern Hedjaz and the Djebel Shafa, comprises the provinces on the eastern shore of the Elamitic Gulf, fertile and mountainous, and the desert extending thence to the lands of Moab and Ammon, east of Mount Seir; it thus contains both lands fit for agriculture, and also districts where a nomadic or pastoral mode of life is alone practicable.

These natural divisions necessarily exercised great influence on events,

and have always been reproduced in the historical and political divisions of the populations of the country.

2. The most ancient inhabitants of whose existence there is any record in Arabia Petræa, in the times of the third and fourth Egyptian dynasties, are the Anu, belonging to the race of Ham, of the same branch as the Egyptians; and several tribes of this race, as we have already said,* were among the primitive population of the Nile valley. These people were conquered by Snefru and Kufu, when they took possession of the copper mines, and founded large establishments in Arabia.

In later times we find the Anu completely driven back to the narrow mountain chain of Sinai, where they mingled with the Egyptian colonists, the Amalika having supplanted them throughout the rest of Arabia Petræa. The Amalika were known to the Egyptians under the name of Shasu, a name equivalent to Bedouin, and then extended from the frontier of Egypt to that of Yemen.† We have already discussed the question of their origin, and seen that they were early divided into three branches—the Amalekites proper; the Arcam, or Edomites, over whom the posterity of Esau established its supremacy; and the Katoora, or Midianites, over whom the descendants of Abraham and Keturah became chiefs. The substitution of the Amalika and their various branches for the Anu, throughout the greater part of Arabia Petræa, was anterior to the twelfth Egyptian dynasty, for the hieratic papyrus of Berlin of this date mentions the Edomites as already dwelling in the land.

Afterwards, as already related in the preceding chapter, the Amalika were driven from Hedjaz and the Tehama by the Joktanite Jorham; and from that time their three branches were concentrated in Arabia Petræa, the Amalekites proper inhabiting the desert north of Sinai, the Edomites the mountains of Petra and Seir, and the Midianites the country east of the Elamitic Gulf. This is the state of things described in the Bible, whence alone we derive positive information on the ancient history of these populations.

The descendants of the original Amalika, of one or the other of the three branches, remained alone in possession of Arabia Petræa, without any mixture of the Arab element, properly so called, Joktanite or Ishmaelite, beyond the slow infiltration of some isolated tribes, until the arrival of the Agdites, or Ghassanites, from Yemen in the third century A.D. The Aramæan language was therefore spoken in these regions, with a slight but gradually increasing admixture of Arabic. Pure Arabic was not used there till the appearance of the Ghassanites.

* Vol. i. p. 202. † Vol. i. p. 227; vol. ii. p. 288.

SECTION II.—THE AMALEKITES.

1. THE first mention in the Bible of the Amalekites is on the occasion of the campaigns of Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv. 7). After having conquered the Rephaim at Ashteroth-Karnaim, the Zuzim and the Emim, and destroyed the Horites of Thamud, the Elamite conqueror laid waste "all the country of the Amalekites," and returned from thence to attack the Pentapolis, through the territory of the Amorites of Hazezon-tamar. In this account the word Amalekite is evidently employed in the same sense as the Arab historians use Amalika, that is, to include all the populations between the province of Thamud and the southern frontier of Palestine.

A little later, when Esau had retired to Mount Seir, one of his grandsons, called in the Book of Genesis Amalek (Gen. xxxvi. 16), settled in the midst of the Amalekites, in the larger sense of the word, and seems to have become the founder of their royal family.

2. At the commencement of the Egyptian conquests in Asia, after the expulsion of the Shepherds, the first people they conquered were the Amalekites, or Shasu,* for the peaceable possession of the desert was necessary to ensure a free communication with Palestine. Amenhotep I. was their conqueror, and they seemed to have remained submissive during the whole period of the eighteenth dynasty. In the midst of the troubles following the reign of Amenhotep IV. [Chu-en-Aten], they revolted, and had the audacity to attack the town of Zal, or Heroopolis.† Seti I., who had just ascended the throne, before commencing his great expeditions into Asia, marched against them, defeated them near Heroopolis, drove them into the desert, and compelled them once more to submit.

The Amalekites were the first to oppose the Hebrews on their leaving Egypt, possibly, although the Bible does not say so, by the orders of their suzerain, the Pharaoh. Joshua defeated them in the valley of Rephidim (Gen. xvii. 8—16), and from that time implacable hatred existed between the two nations. Moses included them in the number of idolatrous nations to be exterminated by the Israelites (Deut. xxv. 17—19). Afterwards, when the Hebrews, condemned by the Divine decree to wander forty years in the desert, desired, contrary to the commands of their inspired guide, to force an entrance into the land of Canaan by way of the southern frontier, and experienced a decisive defeat, the Amalekites had joined the Canaanites to oppose them (Num. xiv. 43).

3. During all the time of the Judges the Amalekites allied themselves

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* Vol. i. p. 227. † Ibid. p. 242.

with the enemies of Israel. They, as well as the Ammonites, joined Eglon, king of Moab (Judges iii. 12—30), when he tyrannised over all the country inhabited by the Hebrews, who were delivered from his oppression by Ehud. They, conjointly with the Midianites, took part in the annual forays from which Gideon delivered his country, and in which the tribes of Midian and Amalek (Judges vi. 5) "came up with their cattle and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitude."

To avenge these ravages, and prevent their repetition, Samuel, as soon as the constitution of the royal power had consolidated the tribes of Israel into one united nation, and when the military power of the new monarchy was to some extent organised, directed Saul to exterminate the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 3). On this occasion the Bible gives us some valuable information respecting them and their country. Their tribes were then grouped under one king, Agag. Though most of them led the life of nomadic shepherds, they had in the midst of their country a town, where their king resided, situated on the upper portion of the brook flowing into the sea at El Arish (the Rhinocorura of the ancients), and its site must have exactly corresponded with what is now the miserable village of Nakhl. The remnant of the Kenites, one of the oldest populations of Southern Palestine, dwelt among them. When Saul had arrived before the walls of the Amalekite capital, he persuaded the Kenites to separate from the Amalekites, by alluding to the bonds of alliance uniting them to the Hebrews, since a portion of them had joined the tribes of Israel under Hobab, the brother in-law of Moses (1 Sam. xv. 5—7). The king of Israel then took the "city of Amalek," and "smote the Amalekites from Havilah until thou comest to Shur, that is over against Egypt." This Havilah must not be confused with the province of the same name in Yemen, and may have been the name of the Amalekite capital; Shur, to which place Saul pursued his enemies, is plainly the present port of Tur, on the Red Sea, west of Sinai. The Amalekites were so completely defeated that they might easily have been exterminated, as Samuel had desired; but Saul spared some of them, and preserved alive their king, Agag, as a prisoner, in order to obtain a ransom. The reader already knows how Saul was punished for this disobedience, and how Samuel, with his own hands, put Agag to death.

4. The Amalekites never recovered this defeat. One of their tribes having pillaged the town of Ziklag, David, then an exile, to whom this town had been assigned as a residence for himself and companions by Achish, king of the Philistines of Gath (1 Sam. xxx. 1—5), marched in haste against them, two of his wives, Ahinoam and Abigail, being among the captives carried away by the nomads. A guide conducted David's little band to the camp of the Amalekites. The tribe, thus

surprised, was put to the edge of the sword, with the exception of 400 men, who "rode upon camels and fled" (1 Sam. xxx. 9—17).

When David was recognised king of Israel, the Amalekites were among the first nations on whom he made war. He conquered and treated them so severely, that they are no more mentioned in history. Merely a few poor wandering tribes, without strength or cohesion, remained in the desert between Egypt and Palestine, instead of a strong and united nation.

SECTION III.—THE MIDIANITES.

1. WE have already spoken of the origin of the Midianites or Katoora,* and described them as first inhabiting Hedjaz, and the country around Mecca, and then as driven into the eastern portion of Arabia Petræa, by the Joktanite Jorham. We have also, in the absence of any positive Biblical testimony on the subject, endeavoured to fix their territory, and decided that it stretched from the eastern shore of the Elamitic Gulf (near which St. Jerome places the town of Midian, the ruins of which are described by Arab geographers of the Middle Ages), as far as the frontier of the lands of Moab and Ammon. It was in the plains on this side that a very ancient king of Edom conquered the Midianites. The principal and compact mass of the nation at least inhabited this territory, for in the time of Moses' exile, a tribe detached, by what cause we know not, from the rest of the nation, lived in a nomade state around Mounts Horeb and Seir, headed by the priest Jethro, who became the father-in-law of the Hebrew legislator.

2. We know but very little of the history of the Midianites. When the Hebrews encamped in the plains on the eastern bank of the Jordan, the Midianites and Moabites combined to oppose them, and attempted to stop the advance of Israel by means of the curses of the diviner, Balaam, and the voluptuous seductions of the worship of Baal-Peor. Moses answered this attempt by declaring war against the Midianites, whilst desiring the Hebrews to spare the Moabites, as they were the descendants of Lot. Phineas, son of the High Priest Eleazar, received the command of a body of twelve thousand Israelites,† doubtless a thousand from each tribe, and penetrated into the heart of the land of Midian, inflicting severe loss on his way, and killing five of the principal chiefs.

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* Page 289. † Vol. i. p. 109.

About two centuries after, in the Book of Judges, the Midianites are represented as having become a very powerful nation, and imposing for seven years a heavy yoke on the Hebrews, and periodically ravaging their lands until the time of Gideon's victory (Judges vii.). All the Midianites on the Hebrew soil were then exterminated, and never, during the republican period, did the Israelites gain a more decisive success. From this time the Midianites disappeared from the list of independent nations. The tribes of Midian and of Ephah (Gen. xxv. 4), separated from the former, are never again mentioned,* except as feeble tribes subject to the king of the Edomites, and exclusively employed in carrying on the caravan trade between Phœnicia or Palestine and Southern Arabia (Isaiah lx. 6.).

SECTION IV.—THE EDOMITES.

1. FROM a very early period the Edomites were the chief of the nations of Arabia Petræa. Amongst the branches sprung, according to Arab tradition, from the primitive Amalika, they correspond to the Arcam, and the posterity of Esau, after settling amongst them as we have seen, became the dominant family from which the chiefs were chosen. The original habitation of the Edomites was Mount Seir, whence they spread over all the country called by the Greeks Gebalene, that is, the prolongation of the mountains joining on the north the land of Moab, into the valley of Arabah, and the surrounding heights. They had some ancient towns on their territory.

2. The thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis gives us ample information as to the earliest history of the Edomites. We find that they were first divided into ten tribes each, with a chief called Alluph (rendered "Duke" in our English version), and descended from Esau. The most important of these tribes was that of Teman, renowned for its wisdom, spoken of in the Book of Job: Eliphaz, one of the principal personages in the dialogue with the patriarch of the land of Uz, is said to have been a Temanite (Job ii. 11). A little later the divisions of the tribes were modified, for after the enumeration quoted in the first chapter of this book, a few verses further on in the sacred text we find a second, numbering eleven chiefs, the heads of tribes, and also entitled alluph; Timnah, Alvah, Jetheth, Aholibamah, Elah, Pinon, Kenaz, Teman, Mibzar, Magdiel, Iram (Gen. xxxvi. 40, 41).

The Edomites of Gebalene soon discovered the inconvenience of the

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* See STANLEY'S *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 340.

division of tribes, and adopted an elective monarch, whilst those of Mount Seir preserved their patriarchal organisation. The Book of Genesis has recorded the list of the kings of Gebalene, doubtless down to the time of Moses, at least it may be supposed so, in spite of the interpolation in this place of a phrase that must have been added after the establishment of royalty in Israel. The list contains but eight names, and therefore does not carry us back more than two centuries before the Exodus. In any case, the kingdom of Gebalene was decidedly anterior to that event, for the sacred text tells us that the Edomites of Seir, still preserving their tribal organisation, allowed the Hebrews to pass (Deut. ii. 4, 29), whilst the king of Edom, that is, of the Edomites of Gebalene, refused permission (Numbers xx. 18), and forced Moses to march round the edge of the desert, and turn the kingdom of Moab, to arrive at the Jordan.

The eight elected kings of Edom mentioned in the Bible (Gen. xxxvi. 32, 39), are, in the order of their succession, Bela, son of Beor, of the city of Dinhabah, Jobab, son of Zerah, of Bozrah, a place not to be mistaken for the great town of the same name in Hauran, and doubtless the present village of El Busaireh, in Jebal, where Burckhardt* mentions large ruins. Husham, of the land of Temani, Hadad, son of Bedad of the city of Avith, "who smote Midian in the field of Moab," Samlah of Masrekah, Saul of Rehoboth, Baal-hanan, son of Achbor, Hadar of the city of Pau. This list, it will be seen, gives the names of the ancient towns of the Edomites of Gebalene as well as of their princes.

In later times royalty became hereditary, and the power of the kings extended over all divisions of the Edomites, and after the time of Gideon, even over the remnant of the Midianite nation.

3. From the time of the establishment of the Hebrews in the Promised Land, we find the Edomites, like the other neighbouring nations, constantly at war with them. They took, however, but a secondary part in those hostile enterprises against the Israelitish nationality that occupied the whole period of the suffetes, or judges. Saul successfully fought the Edomites; under David, Joab and Abishai, his generals, completely defeated them, and David placed garrisons in their towns (2 Sam. viii. 14). In their ports of Elath and Eziongeber were built the fleets sent to India by Hiram and Solomon. At the end of the reign of this latter prince, Hadad (1 Kings xi. 15—21), a scion of the ancient royal house of the Edomites, who had in infancy escaped from the massacres ordered by Joab, and who had grown up at the Egyptian

* SYR. 407; see also, Isai. xxxiv. 6, lxiii. 1; Jer. xlix. 13, 22; Amos i. 12.

court of Tanis, excited a rebellion which caused Solomon much trouble, but was finally suppressed.

After the schism of the ten tribes, the Edomites remained dependent on the king of Judah. Even under Jehoshaphat they had no kings of their own, but merely viceroys sent from Jerusalem, and their seaports on the Elamitic Gulf were in the power of the Jews. The viceroy of Edom, contemporary with Jehoshaphat, had a considerable share in the defeat of Mesha, king of Moab (2 Kings iii. 9—26), by Jehoshaphat and Joram. A few months after, it is true, we find that the Moabites succeeded in inciting the Edomites to revolt (2 Chron. xx. 1, 10), and conjointly with them invaded the territory of Judah, as far as Engaddi, and probably that viceroy of Edom who is mentioned by the prophet Amos (Amos ii. 1.), as having been burnt alive by the Moabites, lived at this period. Both Moabites and Edomites were cut to pieces by Jehoshaphat.

In the time of Joram, profiting by the decline of the kingdom of Judah, the Edomites made themselves independent, and were once more ruled by their national kings. Amaziah defeated them in the valley of Salt (2 Kings xiv. 7), and took the city of Selah, afterwards called Petra by the Greeks, the capital of the new Edomite monarchy, as Bozrah was of the old. The king of Judah then attempted, as a mark of conquest, to change the name of Selah to Joktheel. The Edomites soon recovered their independence during the reign of Ahaz (2 Kings xvi. 6), by the help of Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, then at war with the king of Judah. A Syrian army having passed through the land of Judah, entered Edom, and took from Ahaz, in order to restore it to the natives, the important town of Elath, that had successfully resisted Amaziah, but was taken and fortified by his son, Uzziah, who had placed there a Jewish garrison. Finally, in their turn assuming the offensive, they laid waste all the southern portion of the kingdom of Judah.

The kingdom of Edom, thus definitely re-formed, included Mount Seir, Gebalene, the ancient land of Midian, and the whole country as far as the *Leuce Come* of the Greeks, the Hawara of our days, on the borders of the Red Sea, near the boundary of Hedjaz. From this time, the Edomites are no more mentioned in the history of the kings of Judah. The first king of their new monarchy was probably the Kadumalka, mentioned by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser II., in the eighteenth year of his reign, as one of his tributaries, together with Ahaz, king of Judah. His immediate successor was Molochram, who was on the throne when Sennacherib made his expedition.

SECTION V.—THE NABATHEANS.

1. WE have now come to the most obscure part of the history of Arabia Petræa. Towards the seventh century B.C., the name Edomite suddenly disappears, and is used only by some of the Israelitish prophets, who, in doing so, follow ancient traditions. Instead of it is found the hitherto unknown word, Nabathean. Nevertheless the two names, Nabathean and Edomite, undoubtedly refer to the same people, dwelling in the same locality, possessing the same empire, with the same boundaries, and the same capital, Selah.

Whence arose this change of name? According to all appearances from an internal revolution, of which we have no record, a change in the royal race, and in the dominant tribe. But of this we can say nothing, for few points in the Ancient History of the East are surrounded by such obscurity.

The fact was sometime ago remarked by the celebrated Orientalist, Etienne Quatremère, that the word Nabat or Nabathean is found in the Euphrates valley. It is used by all Syrian and Arab writers to designate—not, as Quatremère supposed, the descendants of the ancient Chaldæans—but the Aramæan populations of the Lower Euphrates, who, originally confined to the right bank of the river, at a very early period, migrated by slow degrees into Chaldæa, and, about the time of the Christian era, supplanted the native Accad race. May we suppose that some tribe, or perhaps merely some powerful family, of these Nabatheans from the banks of the Euphrates crossed the desert, settled amongst the Edomites, and, becoming possessed of power, imposed their name on the monarchy?

However this may be, the date of the substitution of the name Nabathean for that of Edomite cannot be precisely fixed any more than the cause of this change. All that can be said on the subject is, that, on the cylinder of Esarhaddon (672 B.C.), we still find Kadumuh, king of Edom, among the tributaries of the Assyrian monarch, and also another king, called Musri (the Egyptian), of the town of Maan, east of Mount Seir, on the border of the desert; the monuments of Asshurbanipal (668—648), however, speak of the "country of Nabatheans" only.

2. Asshurbanipal was the first of the Ninevite conquerors who carried his arms into the Nabathean territory. Although some kings of Edom had in former times paid tribute to Assyria, it was from fear of their power, and with a view of preventing the invasion of their country, and the ravages that would have resulted. This misfortune, however, did befall the country when Asshurbanipal, having concluded his war in Susiana, turned to the Arabs who had revolted during the war, and also chastised the Nabatheans, whose king, called Nathan, had imitated their

example, and assisted them. Selah was taken, the country entirely laid waste, and a large number of captives taken to Assyria. The heavy bonds of strictly enforced obedience now attached the Nabatheans to the Ninevite empire, instead of the lighter ties of voluntary submission.

This closer union with the Assyrian power did not, however, prevent the Nabatheans from largely profiting by the circumstances that, about that time, reopened the navigation of the Red Sea, and brought the greater part of the Indian trade through that route. We have already explained,* in the chapter on Yemen, the principal vicissitudes of this commerce as important in ancient times as it is now, and the changes it underwent from the seventh to the fifth century B.C. We will not, therefore, repeat this account, but pass on to the considerable share taken in it by the Nabatheans as warehousemen and carriers, exactly during the period of time of which we are now speaking, and within the limits we have indicated.

3. The Nabatheans, who had suddenly attained to a high degree of commercial prosperity in consequence of the policy of the kings of the twenty-sixth Egyptian dynasty and their efforts to turn all the trade of India into the Arabian Gulf, found therefore their own interests closely connected with Egypt, and showed great haste to declare in favour of the Pharaonic policy when the Assyrian empire began to decline; and Necho, profiting by these events, undertook the conquest of Syria as far as the Euphrates. The battle of Carchemish, and the retreat of the Egyptians, almost immediately followed. When, in 605, Nebuchadnezzar for the first time led his army to the Egyptian frontier by two routes—one through the country of the Philistines, and the other through Perea, the land of the Ammonites, and the country of Moab—the Nabatheans, through a part of whose territory one of the divisions marched, hastened to make their submission to the conqueror, and pay him the tribute they had formerly sent to Nineveh. In 590, however, these same Nabatheans imprudently joined with the Moabites, Ammonites, and Tyrians, in the revolt of Zedekiah, king of Judah, against the Babylonian monarch, a revolt fatal to Jerusalem. For five years the petty kings of the various portions of Southern Syria had been engaged in this conspiracy, encouraged by the Pharaoh Uahprahet. The countries of Moab and Ammon, by submitting before the fighting began, escaped the consequences of this enterprise. The Nabatheans, together with the Israelites and Tyrians, were severely punished. Their countries were laid waste, and their capitals destroyed; we have not records of all that was done, but the expressions used in the Book of Jeremiah (Jer. xlvii., xlviii., xlix.) hint at the extent of the devastation which, by

* See p. 301 *seq.*

destroying one of the principal marts of commerce between India and the Mediterranean basin, by way of Southern Arabia, was evidently, like the siege of Tyre, intended by Nebuchadnezzar to change the direction of this trade and divert it to Babylon.

But however severe the punishment inflicted on the Nabatheans by the Chaldæan king, it was but temporary, and they soon recovered its effects. They were not transported, like the Israelites, to another land. After the death of Nebuchadnezzar his grand commercial projects were neglected during the rapid revolutions that took place at Babylon, and the Achæmenians finally entirely abandoned them. The trade of the Nabatheans and of Selah, their capital, therefore soon recovered its prosperity and activity, and even increased rather than diminished; for the complete ruin of Tyre made of Selah or Petra, instead of a mere halting place, the chief station for caravans from Southern Arabia, and the great market of the produce of India, for Yemen or Hadramaut, whence other caravans set out to carry this produce over all Western Asia. This prosperity increased still more under the Persian kings, whose supremacy was peaceably acknowledged by the Nabatheans, as soon as Cyrus had taken Babylon, and who always treated the Nabatheans with much consideration. Then began the age of the greatest commercial prosperity of Petra and of the Nabatheans, and this lasted from the time of Cyrus till the reduction of the country to the condition of a Roman province. Etiénne Quatremère has described this in the most interesting manner in his celebrated "*Memoire sur les Nabatéens*," printed in 1835.

During the captivity of the Jews a considerable emigration of the Edomite or Nabathean population took place into the fertile lands of Southern Judea, then almost abandoned, and thus originated the Idumeans of Palestine, who at one time possessed the land as far as Hebron, and formed a state distinct from the Nabathean kingdom, and including, besides part of the ancient provinces of Judah and Simeon, some of the ancient Amalekite territory. They were conquered and incorporated with Judea by John Hyrcanus, and finally gave the dynasty of Herod to reign over the whole country.

SECTION VI.—MANNERS AND RELIGION OF THE NABATHEANS.

1. THE Nabatheans and Edomites were, as we have seen, one and the same nation, generally nomades and shepherds, and owed most of their wealth to the caravans they conveyed across the desert. They had, however, a certain number of permanent fortified towns in their territory, serving as fortresses in case of a foreign invasion, and in time of

peace as depôts for trade. The principal inland towns were Sela, or Petra, the capital Bozrah, and Oboda; on the sea were the important ports of Elath, Eziongeber, and Havara, afterwards called Leuce Come by the Greeks, chiefly inhabited by foreign merchants and shipowners. The soil of Nabatene was not suited to agriculture, and therefore, according to all ancient testimony, it hardly seems to have been practised; although Diodorus Siculus* evidently exaggerates in saying that a law forbade the Nabatheans to cultivate cereals or the vine, under pain of death.

We know nothing certain of the laws and peculiar customs of this people, we have but few of their written monuments, inscriptions, or medals, and the whole of these are later than the period included in this manual. We know that the tribal system was the basis of their political constitution, each tribe having its chief, subject to the supreme authority of the king. In the inscriptions we find individuals designated as "emirs," "elders of tribes," and "horsemen," some even called "scholars," "doctors," and "poets," revealing a sufficiently remarkable development of intellectual and literary culture. We know that this same mental development in a nomadic state of society, is a distinguishing feature of pre-Islamite Arabia.

2. The inscriptions are more liberal in their information on the Nabathean religion, though even here they give us but very confused and incomplete accounts. We may, however, affirm with certainty that it belonged to the family of the Syro-Phœnician religions.

In the monuments we possess, we find that the deity first in rank was *Al* or *El*, who, in all the religions of Mesopotamia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, represents the highest, most comprehensive, and most unitarian conception of the divine being. Sometimes he has surnames under which according to the laws of similar religions he is considered as a distinct personage; such as *El Ga* "the lofty god." With him we find his feminine counterpart his "manifestation" under the name of *Alath*.

Baal also belonged to the Nabathean religion, and specially the notion of the various *Baalim*, for in the inscriptions we find, together with the simple name *Baal*, *Baal Samim*, "the Baal of the heavens" as in Phœnicia, and *Iarhi Baal*, "the Baal of the moon." We likewise also meet several times in the inscriptions with the name *Katsiu*, the areolithic god, and *Aziz*, "the powerful," sacred names common to other parts of Syria.

The principal god, peculiar to the Nabatheans, their real national god, as formerly of the Edomites, the personage most generally worshipped by the nation, and holding the first place in the pantheon was

* DIOD. SIC. xix. 94.

the one called by classical writers *Dusares*, written on the original monuments *Dushara* or *Dulshara*. This was an essentially solar god, compared by the Greeks to their Dionysos. The name, plainly Arab in character, must be decomposed into *Dhu Shara*, or *Dhu-el-Shara*, "the lord of Mount Seir." Among the Nabatheans, as in Phœnicia, it appears that the distinction of divine personages was generally local in origin. It is undoubtedly so in *Maan*, still the name of an important locality east of Jebel Sheraa, and in *Taymi*, "the god of Taym," from Arabia Deserta.

The origin and true nature of many of these numerous personages, arising from a corruption of the original belief in the divine unity, cannot in the present state of knowledge be determined, for we do not even know the precise forms of their names, which exist only in Greek transcriptions or translations. Such are the gods called *Ammon*, *Theandrios*, *Ethæos*, *Athene Gozmœa*, *Uabbaiathos*. Several must have been the local gods of tribes, or villages. Others, perhaps, represent certain celestial bodies, for like all the Arabs, the Nabatheans, as well as with the Syrians and Phœnicians, inclined to Sabeism, and adored the more brilliant among the stars. Two of their gods have been recognised as such. *Ta* and *Dariah* "the brilliant," the latter apparently corresponding to the planet Venus. These names occur in the Sinaitic inscriptions.

The Nabatheans had a regular priesthood, the members of which were called Kahin, and, doubtless, like those of the other Arab tribe were diviners as well as priests.

Religious pilgrimages were as frequent among the Nabatheans as amongst other Aramæans and the Arabs. A learned German, M. Tuch,* has specially studied the Nabathean places for pilgrimage. The sites are nearly all in the mountain chain of Sinai, and very near each other. The most important were to Wady Feiran, to Mount Serbal, and especially to Tor, on the shores of the Red Sea. It was by taking advantage of one of these solemn pilgrimages, that, in the year 312 B.C., Athenæus, the general of Antigonus, one of the successors of Alexander the Great, surprised the town of Petra, when its inhabitants were absent.†

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* In the third volume of the *Journal of the German Asiatic Society*.

† DIOD. SIC. xix. 94, 95.

END OF VOLUME II.

INDEX.

A.

Abdera, Teians retire there from Persian invasion, 86
Abdimilkut, king of Sidon, 192
Abd Shems, king of Yemen, 311
Abian, town in Arabia, 320
Abibaal, king of Tyre, 181
Abidah, subdivision of Midian, 290
Abil, Amalekite tribe, 289
Abimaal, son of Joktan, 291
Abissares, subdued by Darius, 141
Abraham, legends about in Koran, 294, 327, 354
Abyate, Arab sheik, 339, 341
Abyssinia, Sabæans pass into, 309; traditions about Solomon, 310
Acco, Phœnician city, 154; submits to Sennacherib, 191; taken by Asshurbanipal, 193
Achæmenes, king of Persians, ancestor of Cyrus, 52
Achzib, Phœnician city, 154, 161; submits to Sennacherib, 191
Acre, *see* Acco
Açtvad-ereta, "existing truth," 30
Ad, grandson of Ham, ancestor of Adites, 295, 296
Adam, traditions of in Arabia, 357
Adbeel, son of Ishmael, 294
Ad Dumu, *see* Dumah
Aden, port in Yemen, 201, 283, 292, 302, 320; Nebuchadnezzar advances to, 315
Adicran, king of Libyans, asks help from Egypt against Greeks, 251
Adites (first), subdivision of Ariba, 284, 285, 295; destruction of, 297
Adites (second), 298; Egyptian conquest of, 299; government by queens, 300; subjugated by Joktanites, 299, 308, 310
Adlun, *see* Avatha
Adnan, descendant of Ishmael, ancestor of Mahomet, 331
Adnan opposes Nebuchadnezzar, 343
Adon, name of Baal, 220
Adonis, *see* Thammuz
Adyrmachidæ, Libyan tribe, 236
Ælius Gallus, expedition of into Arabia, 311, 321
Æobazes and his sons, 136
Æolians, included in first Persian satrapy, 115
Afrasiab, the serpent, 40, 41, 45
Africa, Phœnician trade with and settlements, 163; Libyan invasion, 166, 236; early colonists, 171, 236; foundation of Carthage, 186; circumnavigation of, 193; limited meaning of name, 235; tribes of, 236; salt hills, 238; position and policy of Carthage, 249; Greek colonies in, 250; Carthaginian trade with interior, 253; settlements in Metagonitis, 256; on western coast, 263; dumb trading, 268; Arabian commerce with, 303; Sabæans pass into Abyssinia, 309
Agag, king of the Amalekites, 361
Agathyrsi, Scythian tribe, 132
Agbatana, *see* Ecbatana
Agiz, Nabathæan deity, 369
Agni, early Arian fire deity, 12, 14
Agradates, name given to Cyrus, 57
Agriculture, of primitive Arians, 6; enjoined in Zend Avesta, 33; Carthaginian, 278; Arabian, 322, 345
Agrippæi, Scythian tribe, 134
Agron, founder of Lydian Heraclide dynasty, probably Assyrian by birth, 74
Ahab, king of Israel, 184, 235
Ahcaf-er-raml, district in Arabia, 296
Ahmes, king of Egypt, legend as to his daughter, 94; marries Laodice, daughter of Baltus, 252
Aholibamah, head of tribe of Edom, 363
Ahriman, evil spirit, contest with Ormuzd, 13; author of evil, 30; identified with Afrasiab, 45
Ahsa, *see* Bahrein
Ahura Mazda, *see* Ormuzd
Akhes Samain, name of Arab deity and of district, 340, 350, 351
Ako-mano, "the evil spirit," 32

Alalia, in Corsica, people of Phocæa settle there, 86, 258; Phœnicians there, 178; attacked by Carthaginians, 259
Alamluk, Arab king, 312
Alapeni, *see* Salapeni
Alarodians, included in eighteenth Persian satrapy, 116
Alath, female deity of Nabathæans, 369
Alazones, Scythian tribe, 128
Albania, subdued by Cyrus, 69
Aldebaran, worship of in Yemen, 324, 351
Aleria, *see* Alalia
Alesia, Tyrian town in Gaul, 194
Alilat, Arab name for lunar deity, 350, 351
Allah, Arab name for supreme deity, 350
Al Lat, *see* Alilat
Alluph (duke), title of chiefs of Edom, 290, 363
Almodad, son of Joktan, 291; the Jorham, 293, 330
Almoshtari, the planet Jupiter, 351
Alonis, Greek town in Spain, 258
Al Ozza, worship of at Nakhla, 351
Alphabet, Phrygian, 73; Persian cuneiform, 122; Egyptian, 207; Phœnician, etc., 208, 212; families of, 209; Arabian, 348
Altars, primitive Arian, 14; of Philœni, 252
Alvah, head of tribe of Edom, 363
Alyattes, king of Lydia, attacks Miletus, 77; takes Smyrna, war with Medes, eclipse battle, 78
Amalekites, subdivision of the Ariba, 284, 288, 289, 359
Amalika, driven out by Joktanites, 290, 329, 359; oppose Hebrews, 360; conquered by Saul, take Ziklag, 361
Amara, wife of Ishmael, 328
Amaziah defeats Edomites, 365
Ambaslaurans, subject to Persians, 141
Amber, Phœnician trade in, 201
Amenhotep I. conquers Shasu, 360
Amenhotep IV., Shasu revolt from, 360
Ameretât, "immortality," 32
Amesaoçpentao, *see* Amshaspands
Amm-anas, pilgrimage in honour of, 326
Ammon, Nabathæan deity, 370
Ammonians, Cambyses makes war on, 97; expedition, 98, 99; Fountain of the Sun, 238
Amori, son of Canaan, 149
Amorites, branches of, habitation, 150
Amram, town in Arabia, 320, 324
Amshaspands, the six "immortal saints," 32; assist Ormuzd in creation, 36
Amytis, daughter of Cyaxares, wife of Nebuchadnezzar, 53
Anahid, Armenian deity, 64
Anaitis, introduction of worship of into Media, 46
Anakim, primitive people of Palestine, 147
Ancestors, worship of deceased, 327
Ander (Indra), 32
Androphagi, Scythian tribe, 128
Angro Mainyus, *see* Ahriman
Antar, Arab hero, 349
Antiparos, Phœnician settlements at, 162
Anu, Hametic race in Arabia, 289, 359
Anurges, king of Sacæ, taken prisoner by Cyrus, 68
Anushvan, king of Armenia, 64
Aparytæ, conquered by Cyrus, 87; included in seventh satrapy, 115
Apepi, Shepherd king of Egypt, 155
Aphek, Sinite town, 153
Apia, Scythian deity, 129
Apis, the bull, killed by Cambyses, 99
Apollo, contest with the Python, 13
Apollonia, Greek colony in Africa, 251
Arabia — Arabs, geography, 281; Greek and Roman divisions; native divisions of the country, 282, 283; various races of, 283, 284; Adites, 285, 295; Aramæan tribes, 287; Amalika, 288, 289; Arkam, or Edom, 290; Joktanites, 291; Ishmaelites, 294; Thamud; Codar-el-Ahmar, 146, 286, 297; first Adite empire, 295; second Adite empire, 298, 308; products of the country represented at Thebes, 166, 299, 300; queens, 300, 301; trade routes, 145, 183, 201, 301, 305; imports from India and Africa, 303; from Phœnicia, 304; from Ophir, 307; supremacy of Joktanites, 308; passage of Arabs to Africa, 309; Joktanite kings, 311; invasion of Esarhaddon, 313; commerce with Mesopotamia, 314; institutions of the Sabæans, 317; modifications introduced by Joktanites, 318; feudal system, 319: cities; *beit*; *hedjar*; municipal government; wealth, 320; temples; art, 321; agriculture; religion, 322: names of deities, 323; sun and star worship, 324, 352; tree and stone worship, 325, 352; pilgrimages, 326; belief in future state, 327, 353; traditions of Ishmael, 328; the Jorham, 329; Hebrew colonies, 331; empire of the Jorham, 333; Assyrians, 334; Shalmaneser IV. and Djendib, 335; Sargon, 336; Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, 337; Asshurbanipal; great rebellion, 338; campaigns of Asshurbanipal, 339; invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, 341, 343; manners and customs; agriculture, 344, 345; tribal government, 346; music and poetry; polygamy, 347; war; lotteries; culture of the vine; calendar; alphabet, 348; mixture with negroes; religion, 349: magic; diviners; worship, 353; the

Hadj; the Caaba, 354; Arabia Petræa, 358; Anu and Amalika, 359; opposition to the Hebrews, 360; Saul's victory, 361; Midianites; defeated by Phinehas, 362; Edomites; tribes, 363; kingdom of Gebalene, 364; subject to Judah; revolt; Kadumalcha and Molocram, 365; Nabatheans, 366; Cambyses and the Arabs; fidelity, 94, 344

Aracan canal, constructed by Nebuchadnezzar, 315

Arachosia, halting place of primitive Arians, 40; conquered by Persians, 87; rebellion in, 110

Aradus, Phœnician city, 151, 160; government, 152; separate from Phœnician confederation, 175; people serve as mercenaries at Tyre, 175; taken possession of by Sidonians, 188; submits to Sennacherib, 191; to Esarhaddon, 192; submits to Asshûrbanipal, 193; occupied by Egyptians, 196

Arafat, sacred mountain, 357

Arakhu heads rebellion at Babylon, 110

Aram, sons of, 288

Arambys, Carthaginian colony, 264

Ararat, Mount, 62

Arbaces, war with Nineveh, 47, 65; rules over Medes, 48

Arbianes, supposed king of the Medes, 48

Arca, town of, 150

Arcan, son of king of Arabs, spared by Hebrews, 332

Arcesilaus, king of Cyrene, deposed, restored, and murdered, 140

Architecture, Persian, 121; Phœnician, 229; Arabian, 321

Ardimanes, conspirator against the Magus, 101

Ardys, king of Lydia, succeeds Gyges; Cimmerian invasion; war with Ionians, 77

Arganthonius, chief of the Turdetani, 258

Argistes, builder of Van, 65

Argonauts, voyages of, 168, 250

Aria—Arians, primitive original station in Bactria, 1; district; divisions of, 2; civilisation; domestic animals, 4; knowledge of metals; arms; habitations, 5; agriculture; waggons; vessels, 6; division of year; decimal notation, 7; family; marriage, 7; wives; children; the clan, 8; tribe; king; ordeal, 9; religion, 10; belief in unity of deity, 11; secondary deities, 12; dualism, 13; forms of worship; sacrifices, 14; horse sacrifice; hymns; Vach, 15; traditions, 17; emigration of tribes, 21, 37, 39; Arians halt in Aria, 40; conquered by Persians, 87; included in sixteenth satrapy, 116. *See* Iranians, Medes, Persians

Ariba, division of the Arabs, 284

Arim, dyke of, 299

Arina, Carian city; inhabitants burn themselves when attacked by Persians, 86

Aristæus, son of Cyrene, king of Cyrenaica, 250

Aristotle, *see* Baltus

Arizanti, Median tribe, 43, 47

Arkam, division of Amalika, 289, 290, 359

Arki, son of Canaan, 149; habitation of descendants, 150

Armenia—Armenians, description of the country, 63; subject to Chaldæa, to Thothmes III., to Tiglath-pileser I., 64; Baruir, 52, 65; subdued by Tiglath-pileser II.; wars of Sargon; Argistis; Van, 65; subject to Medes, 52, 65; revolt under Tigranes, 62, 66; admit suzerainty of Cyrus, 67; rebellion against Darius, 107; suppression, 108, 109; included in the thirteenth satrapy, 116; privileges, 117; Phœnician trade with, 201, 203

Arms of primitive Arians, 5

Arrafa, *see* Divination

Arrows, divination by among Arabs, 353

Art, Phœnician, 231, 232; Greek, 233; Carthaginian, 278; Arabian, 321

Artabanus, brother of Darius, 136

Artæus, supposed king of Medes, 48

Artimpata, Scythian deity, 129

Artycas, supposed king of Medes, 48

Artynes, supposed king of Medes, 48

Arvad, *see* Aradus

Arvad, island in Persian Gulf, 303, 304

Arvadi, son of Canaan, 149; habitation of descendants, 151

Aryaman, Arian name of the Deity, 12

Aryandes, satrap of Egypt, invades Cyrene, 140, 271

Aryanem Vacajo, 2, 39

Aryenis, daughter of Alyattis, wife of Astyages, 55

Asafai, Arab idol, 356

Asbystæ, Libyan tribe, 237

Ascalon, 173; taken by Scythians, 193

Ashdod, 173; Sargon's attack on, 336

Ashtaroth, sanctuary of at Aphek, 153

Asia Minor, description of, 69

Aspabara, chief of Medes; wars with Sargon, 48

Asovahisto, "the pure better one," 32

Aspadas, supposed king of the Medes, 48

Asshur, 12

Asshurbanipal invades Phœnicia, 193; Nabathæans, 366

Asshur-edibilani, king of Assyria, resists Median invasion, 52

Asshurnazirpal invades Palestine, 184

Assyrians furnish Lydian royal family, 75; conquer Media, 46; balance of power, 47; invasion of Palestine, 184, 185, 334: Tiglath-pileser 2, 188, 334; Shalmaneser and Sargon, 49, 52, 189, 336; Sennacherib, 191, 336; Esarhaddon, 192, 337; Assburbanipal, 193, 338; fall of Nineveh, 47, 54, 193; Phœnician trade with, 201; rebellion against Darius, 107; included in ninth satrapy, 115; fleet, 165
Assyrian lake, *see* Lake
Astibares, chief of the Medes, 48
Astyages marries daughter of Alyattes, 55; succeeds to the throne, 56; orders death of Cyrus, 57; revenge on Harpagus: defeat by Cyrus, 66
Asura, Arian name of the Deity, 12
Asvins, Arian personification of twilight, 13
Asyr, province of Arabia, 283, 295
Atarantians, Libyan tribe, 239
Atared, planet Mercury, 351
Atergath, Phœnician deity, 222
Ateshgah, fire temple, 36
Athal, in Arabia, 295
Athaliah, 184
Athene Jozmæa, Nabathean deity, 370
Athtor, name of deity in Yemen, 322
Athtoret, female deity in Yemen, 324
Atlantes, Carthaginian trade with, 253
Atrines rebels against the Persians in Susiana, 105
Auscisæ, Libyan tribe, 237
Auseans, Libyan tribe, 241
Avalokitesvara, "the manifested voice," 15
Avaris, residence of Shepherd kings, 155
Avatha, Tyrian city, 153; sculptures at, 160, 161
Avesta, *see* Zend Avesta
Awar, *see* Avaris
Awzal, province of Yemen, 291
Ayla, Arab king, 340
Aym, son of Their, Arab sheik, 339, 341
Azallah, town in Arabia, 340
Azbaal made king of Aradus, 193
Aziris, Greek colony at, 251
Azlam, *see* Divination
Azrak, Amalekite tribe, 289
Azran, Arab town, 339

B.

Baal, king of Tyre, 193
Baal, Phœnician deity, 219; multiplication of, 219, 220, 369
Baalath, or Beltis, 222
Baalbec, trade route through, 202
Baaleazar, king of Tyre, 183
Baalhamon, worship of at Carthage, 279; child-burning in honour of, 280
Baalhanan, king of Edomites, 364
Baalim, secondary deities of Phœnicia, 219
Baasa, king of Ammon, 335
Babylon, competition for Phœnician trade, 158; trade with Phœnicia, 201, 203; with Arabia, 302, 314; through Gerrha, 314; great works of Nebuchadnezzar, 315; taken by Cyrus, 89; rebellion against Darius, 105; capture, 106; rebellion, 110; included in ninth satrapy, 115
Bactria, original seat of Arians, 1, 2; Iranians return to, 21; treachery of Zoroaster, 25; expulsion of tribes hostile to Zoroaster, 39; halting place of Iranians, 36; under Median rule, 52; conquered by Cyrus, 68; included in twelfth satrapy, 116
Bætica, nations of; intercourse with Tyre, 177; insurrection against Tyrians; conquest by Carthage, 255
Bætylia, sacred stones; worship of, 221, 229, 325, 352
Bagabarta, or Bagamazda, Armenian deity, 64
Bagæus destroys Orætes, 111
Bahrein, province in Arabia, 283, 286, 295; trade through, 393
Bain, title of Joktanite nobles, 319
Baium, castle at, 320
Bakhdi, *see* Bactria
Balearic Isles, soldiers from in Carthaginian armies, 277
Baltic Sea, Phœnician trade with, 201
Bambyce, pilgrimages to, 326
Bar, province in Arabia, 340
Barca, conquered by Aryandes, 140, 271; Greek towns in, 251; submits to Cambyses, 97; included in sixth satrapy, 115
Bardias, *see* Smerdis
Baruir, king of Armenia, 52; joins Arbaces, 65
Bastrave, town in Arabia, 285
Bastuli, Carthaginians invade, 255
Bastulo Phœnicians, 256
Battus leads colony to Cyrene, 251
Battus II. marries his daughter to Ahmes, 252
Bazi, expedition of Esarhaddon to, 338
Behistun, inscription at, 44, 103
Beit, title of towns in Arabia, 320
Beitneni, Arab town, 339
Bela, king of Edomites, 364
Belourtagh, Iranians leave, 21
Benat Allah, "daughters of God," 352
Benhidri, king of Damascus, 335
Berbers of Africa, 235
Berytus, Giblite city, 153, 160, 164
Beth-el, *see* Bætylia

Bet-zitti, Phœnician city, submits to Sennacherib, 191
Bil, name of deity in Yemen, 322, 323, 324
Bithynians in Asia Minor, 70; subjugated by Crœsus, 79
Bit-ilahat, castle of, 324
Black Sea, Phœnician trade with, 159, 163; Greek voyages to, 168
Boats, used by primitive Arians, 6
Bod Astoreth, king of Tyre, 187
Bodayl, Amalekite tribe, 289
Bœotia, Phœnician colonies in, 169
Bokt-nassar, Arab name for Nebuchadnezzar, 342
Bosphorus, Persian bridge of boats over, 136
Botrys, Phœnician city, 152
Brahmans, opposed to Zoroaster, 38
Britain, Phœnician trade with, 159, 194, 255, 263, 266, 267
Bronze age, its connection with Phœnician commerce, 157, 205; extensive use of bronze, 158
Bryges, *see* Phrygians
Budii, Median tribe, 43
Budini, Scythian tribe, 133
Bulla, Carthaginian town, 248
Bundchesh, Zoroastrian book on Creation, 27; contains account of Fall of Man and of Deluge, 37
Busæ, Median tribe, 43
Byblos, *see* Gebal
Byrsa, citadel of Carthage, 245
Byzacium, occupied by Carthaginians, 246; town of, 248
Byzantes, *see* Gyzantians
Byzantium, taken by Megabyzus, 140

C.

Caaba, constructed by Abraham and Ishmael, 329, 354; Nebajoth guardians, 330; in charge of Jorhham, 333, 352, 354; image of Virgin and child there, 355
Cabalians, included in second satrapy, 115
Cabirim, "powerful ones," 221, 224, 279
Cabul, conquered by Persians, 87
Cadmus, Phœnician emigrant, 163, 169
Cagliari, *see* Caralis
Caicna, Phœnician city, 161
Calamus, Phœnician city, 152
Callipedæ, Scythian tribe, 128
Cambe, Phœnician settlement, 163, 172, 186, 245
Cambyses, Persian noble; marries daughter of Astyages; their son, Cyrus, 56
Cambyses, son of Cyrus, 93; prepares to attack Egypt, 94; capture of Memphis, 95; submission of neighbouring nations, 97; expeditions against Ammonians and Ethiopians, 98; failure; outrages on Egyptian religion; madness, 99; story of Prexaspes; rebellion of Magi, 100: death in Syria, 101
Camel, sacrifice of, 353
Camirus, Phœnician and Greek colony in Rhodes, 176, 185
Campylians subdued by Darius, 141
Cana, port in Arabia, 201
Canaan, migrations of nations of, 144, 296; cause and route, 145; language, 147; entry into Palestine, 148; supremacy of Egypt in, 151; people of invade Egypt, 154; civilisation of, 199
Canal from Red Sea to Nile, 305; Babylonian, 315
Candaules, king of Lydia, 75
Cannch, port in Arabia, 302, 320
Cappadocians in Asia Minor, 70
Caralis, Phœnician colony in Sardinia, 179, 255
Carchedon, *see* Carthage
Carchedonia, *see* Zeugitana
Carchemish, defeat of Necho by Nebuchadnezzar at, 194, 367
Carians, in Asia Minor, 71; decrease of power; take service as mercenaries, 72, 94; subdued by Persians, 86; included in first satrapy, 115; government, 118
Carian Wall, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 264
Carmanians, subject to Cyrus, 68
Carteia, Phœnician colony in Spain, 178, 258
Carthage; founded on site of Cambe, 186, 245; situation, 234; native populations, 235; position, 244; citadel; origin of name, 245; loss of power, 246; colonies, 247; policy, 248, 249; conquests in Africa; contact with Greeks, 250; boundary, 252; submission to Tyre, 254; obtains Tyrian colonies, 255; settlements in Metagonitis; warlike policy, 256; war in Sicily; Malchus, 257, 260; alliance with Etruscans; attack on Greeks, 259; defeat in Sardinia, 260; Mago, 262; voyages on Atlantic; Periplus of Hanno, 263; commercial results, 268; Hasdrubal and Hamilcar; Cambyses, 97, 98, 270; treaty with Rome, 270; submits to Darius, 140, 270; government, 272; suffetes; generals; senate, 273; Councils of Ten and Hundred; resemblance to Venice, 274; assemblies; syssitia; clubs; contrast with Rome, 275; oppression of subjects; armies, 276; exports and imports, 277; agriculture; literature, 278; religion, 223, 279, 280
Carthala, son of Malchus, 261
Caspians, subdued by Cyrus, 68; included in eleventh and in fifteenth satrapies, 116

Castles of Joktanite nobles, 319
Caucasus, tin trade with, 158
Caunians in Asia Minor, 71; subjugated by Crœsus, 79; by Persians, 86
Çaurva (Siva), 32
Caveh, Iranian insurrection under, 22
Cayl, title of Joktanite nobles, 318
Celts, migrations of, 3; traditions of deluge, 20
Centaurs, origin of myth, 13
Ceres, worship of at Carthage, 279
Cerne, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 264, 267
Chaldæan empire destroyed by Persians, 89; tin trade with, 158
Chalybes, Phœnician trade with, 163, 203; subdued by Cyrus, 69
Chamos, *see* Chemosh
Chaulan, Arab tribe, 285
Chavilæi, *see* Hadramaut
Chemosh, Moabite deity, 210, 219
Chedorlaomer, *see* Codhur-el-Ahmar
Children, of primitive Arians, 8; burnt alive at Carthage in honour of Baal Hamon, 280
Chinvat, bridge for good spirits, 33
Chorasmians, included in sixteenth satrapy, 116
Cilicians, in Asia Minor, 70; Phœnician colonists among, 162; form fourth satrapy, 115
Cimmerians invade Asia Minor, 76; remains of, 136
Cimolos, Phœnician colony, 162
Cinyps, region in Africa, 243
Circumcision among Sabæans, 318
Cissia, forms eighth satrapy, 115
Citium, Phœnician colony in Cyprus, 162, 181, 189; taken by Sargon, 191
Clans, among primitive Arians, 8
Clitomachus, Carthaginian philosopher, 278
Clubs at Carthage, 275
Clypea, Phœnician colony in Africa, 248
Cnidos, colonies from, 258
Codar-el-Ahmar, tradition of destruction of Thamud by, 146, 286, 297; invasion of Palestine, 148; of Amalekites, 360
Codayd, worship of Monat at, 351
Colchis, Phœnician trade with, 163; Greek voyages to, 168; submits to Cyrus, 69
Collops, Carthaginian settlement in Africa, 256
Colonies [S. Sidonian; T. Tyrian; C. Carthaginian; G. Greek]
In Africa—S., 166, 171, 172, 204; C., 246, 263
Acra, C., 264
Apollonia, G., 251
Arambys, C., 264
Colonies—*continued*
In Africa—*cont.*
Aziris, G., 251
Barca, G., 251
Bulla, C., 248
Cambe, S., 163, 172, 186, 245
Carian Wall, C., 264
Carthage, *see sub. voc.*
Cerne, C., 264, 267
Clypea, T., 248
Collops, C., 256
Cyrcinis, G., 250
Cyrene, G., 250, 251
Gannarium, C., 267
Gytte, C., 264
Hadrumatum, C., 248
Hermæum, C., 267
Hesperis, G., 251
Hippo, S., 163, 172, 248
Iol, C., 256
Leptis Magna, S., 250
Leptis Minor, C., 248
Lixus, C. 267
Macar, T., 250
Melitta, C., 264
Meschela, G., 250
Metagonitis in, C., 256
Mulalacha, C., 267
Oea, T., 250
Pithemsa, C., 256
Platea, G., 251
Poena, C., 267
Rusibis, C., 267
Sala, C., 267
Sicca, C., 248
Siga, C., 256
Tacape, C., 248
Teuchira, G., 251
Thymaterium, C., 263
Tingis, C., 267
Tunis, T., 248
Tyrselus, C., 248
Utica, T., 177, 186, 245, 247
Uzala, G., 250
Vacca, C., 248
Zama, C., 248
Zaritus, T., 248
Zilia, C., 267
In the Balearic Isles
Ebusus, T. C., 255, 262
Minorca, C., 262
In the Canary Islands
Junonia, C., 268
In Cilicia, S., 162
In Corsica, G., 257
Alalia, G., T., 86, 178, 258
In Crete, S., 166
Itanum, S., 162
In Cyprus, S., 166; T., 191
Citium, S. T., 162, 181, 189, 191
Paphos, S., 164
In Epirus, S., 163
In Gaul, G., 257; C., 263
Alesia, T., 194
Marseilles, G., 86, 257, 258, 259
Pyrene, G., 258, 259
Rüscino, T. C., 259
Gozo, T. C., 179, 230, 255

Colonies—*continued*
In Greece and the Islands
Antiparos, S., 162
Cimolos, S., 162
Cythera, S., 162
Ios, S., 162
Melos, S., 162, 167, 176, 185, 234
Oliasos, S., 162
Rhodes, S., 162
Siphaos, S., 162
Syros, S., 162
Thasos, S., G., 162, 167, 176, 190
Thebes, S., 169, 204
Thera, S., 162, 167; 176, 185
In Italy, G., 188
Tharsis, T., 177
Velia, G., 259
In Lipari Islands, C., 270
In Madeira, C., 269
Malta, T. C., 178, 230, 255
In Persian Gulf
Arvad, T., 304
Tylos, T., 304
In Rhodes, S., 162, 234
Camirus, S., T., G., 176, 185
Ialysus, S., T., G., 176, 185
In Sardinia, T., 254; C., 262, 263
Caralis, T., C., 179, 255
Cossura, T., C., 179, 255
Nora, T., C., 179, 255
In Sicily, T., 179, 254, 255; G., 188, 257
Kepher, T., 189
Machanath, T., 189
Megara, G., 188
Motya, T., C., 189, 255
Naxos, G., 188
Panormus, T., C., 255
Selinus, C., G., 257
Soluntum, C., T., 255
Syracuse, G., 189
In Spain, S., 172; T., 178, 254; G., 257; C., 263
Abdera, T., 178
Alonis, G., 258, 259
Carteia, T., 178, 258
Emporiæ, G., 258, 259
Erythia, T., 177
Gades, T., C., 177, 257, 258
Hemeroscopium, G., 258, 259
Malacca, T., 178
Mœnaca, G., 258, 259
Rhoda, G., 258, 259
Sex, T., 177, 178
Tharsis, T., 177, 257
Colophon, taken by Lydians, 77
Columns, Persian, 121; obelisks before temples, 230; Arabian, 321
Commerce, Phœnician, 156, 199; bronze, 157; tin, 158; alteration of route of, 176; with Arabia, 183; with Spain, France, and Italy; by barter, 200; three great routes, 201, 304; Carthaginian, 247; with interior of Africa, 253, 268; exports and imports, 277; Arabian, 281, 300, 301
Copper mines in Arabia, 359
Corassid, in Arabia; Assyrians at, 340
Corpses, Iranian horror of; neither buried nor burned, 33
Corsica, Greek colonies, 86, 257, 258; Tyrian, 178
Cossura, Phœnician colony at, 179, 255
Council of Ten, Council of the Hundred at Carthage, 274
Cow, Iranian veneration for, 33
Çpenta-armalti, "holy earth," 32
Creation, traditions of, 16; teaching of Zend Avesta on, 28, 36; Phœnician legends, 224
Crete, Phœnician settlements in, 162, 166
Crœsus, king of Lydia; wars with Ionians, 78; subjugates Asia Minor, 79; attacks Persians, 80; is defeated; siege of Sardis, 81; capture; Greek legends, 82; taken to Egypt, 96, 100
Curetes, river of Eastern Africa, 264
Cyaxares, succeeds Phraortes as king of Medes, 52; defeated by Scythians, 53; takes Nineveh, 54; war with Lydians; death, 55
Cyclades, Phœnician settlements in, 162
Cyprus, Phœnician settlements in, 162, 166, 181, 189, 191; included in fifth satrapy, 115
Cyrcinis, Greek settlements in, 250
Cyrene, Greek colonies in; contact with Carthaginians, 250; Battus; battles with Egyptians, 251; boundary, 252; submits to Cambyses, 97; included in sixth satrapy, 115; subdued by Darius, 140
Cyrnus, *see* Corsica
Cyrus, son of Cambyses; ordered to be put to death, 56; boyhood, 57; sent to Persia, 59; revolt and victory over Medes, 66; submission of neighbouring nations, 68; conquests; war with Lydia, 69, 80; siege and capture of Sardis, 81, 82; attacks Greek cities, 85; conquest of India, 87; marches on Babylon, 88; captures city, 89, 343; release of Hebrews, 90; attacks Massagetæ; legend of death of Cyrus, 91; tomb, 92
Cythera, Phœnician settlements in, 162

D.

Dadares, sent by Darius to Armenia, 108
Dadan, *see* Dedan
Dadicæ, included in seventh satrapy, 115
Dahna, Arabian desert of, 283
Daksha, epithet for deity of primitive Arians, 12
Damascus, trade route through, 202
Dardæ, subdued by Darius, 141
Dardanians of Troy, 71
Dariah, Nabathæan deity, 370
Daritæ, subdued by Cyrus, 68; included in eleventh satrapy, 116

Darius, a conspirator against the Magus, 101; made king, 102; inscription at Behistun, 100; rebellions against, 105; capture of Babylon, 106; great rebellions, 107, 113; death of Orætus, 111; organisation of empire, 114; capital, 119; palace and tomb, 121, 122; favours Hebrews, 124; prepares to invade Scythia, 126, 136; retreat of Scythians, 137, 138; disaster of Persians, 139; subjugation of Cyrene; submission of Carthage, 140, 270; expedition to India; fleet on the Indus, 141
Darvands, evil spirits opposed to Amshaspands, 32
Datos, Sidonian voyages to, 162
Debir, or Kirjath Sepher, City of Books, 217
Decimal notation, used by primitive Arians, 10
Dedan, son of Raamah the Cushite, 285, 286
Dedan, subdivision of Jokshan, 289
Deioces, the Mede, 49; elected king; builds Ecbatana, 50; palace; succeeded by Phraortes, 51
Delphi, oracle at consulted by Crœsus, 82
Deluge, Arian traditions of, 18, 37
Demavend, *see* Varena
De-meter, the Parthivi Mutar of the early Arians, 12
Deucalion, Greek tradition of, 19
Deva, name of Deity among primitive Arians, 10; applied by Zoroastrians to evil spirits, 32
Dhama, title of Deity in Yemen, 323, 324
Dhara, title of Joktanite nobles, 319
Dhatar, Arian name of the Deity, 12
Dhat-baadan, Arabian female deity, 323
Dhat-hami, Arabian female deity, 323
Dhat Irak, battle at between Arabs and Chaldæans, 343
Dhu, territorial title of Joktanite nobles, 318
Dhu-l-calat, Arabian deity, 351
Dhu Kholosa, Arabian deity, 326
Dhu Rash, Arabian usurper, 312
Dhu-Shamaivi, title of deity in Yemen, 323, 324
Dhu Unuscour, *see* Lokman
Dido, 185; builds Carthage, 186, 245, 246
Diklah, son of Joktan, 291, 292
Dikranuhi, sister of Tigranes, wife of Astyages, 65
Dioscuri, the Asvius of early Arians, 13
Divination, mode of among Arabs, 353
Dios, *see* Devas
Djaradashti, *see* Zoroaster, 38
Djasim, Amalekite tribe, 289
Djebel Shammar, in Arabia, 293
Djebel Shedjer, in Arabia, 293
Djemshid, mythical king of Iranians, 22
Djendib, chief of the Arabs, 335
Djorash, pilgrimages to, 326
Dog, Iranian veneration for, 33
Doomat-el-Jendel, *see* Dumah
Drangiana, subdued by Persians, 87
Dualism, early Arian, 13; Zoroastrian, 29
Duke, *see* Alluph
Dumah, son of Ishmael, 294
Dumah, queens of, 301; subdued by Esarhaddon, 313, 334; by Sennacherib, 337, 346
Dusares, chief deity of Nabathæans, 369
Dyanspitar, Arian fire deity, 12
Dye, Tyrian, 214
Dyrbeans, subdued by Darius, 141
Dwifan and Dwifach, Celtic legend of, 20

E.

Ebusus, Phœnician colony, 255, 262
Ecbatana, founded by Deioces; description of, 50; slaughter of Magi at, 102; superseded as capital by Susa, 119
Eclipse, during battle between Medes and Lydians, 55, 78
Edessa, trade route through, 202
Edom, name applied to Arkam, 290, 359; tribes of, 363; kingdom of Gebalene, 364; subject to Judah; independence, 365
Eglon, in alliance with Amalekites, 361
Egypt, early supremacy in Palestine, 151; invasion of nations of Canaan, 154, 296; Hatasu subdues part of Arabia, 299; conquest of Shasu, 360; non-intervention in Palestine, 155; early caravan trade, 158; foreign dominions, 160; Phœnician trade with, 163; Phœnicians furnish ships for, 165, 306; fleet on Mediterranean and Red Sea, 166, 305; invasion of Libyo-Pelasgians, 167, 250; decline of naval power, 168, 307; Shishak invades Palestine, 183; defeat of Shebek by Sargon, 189; Necho invades Palestine; circumnavigation of Africa, 193, 314, 367; defeat of Necho, 194; league of Uahprahet, 195; invasion of Palestine, 196; alphabet, 207; Uahprahet defeated in Africa by the Greeks, 251; Ahmes marries Laodice, 252; Red Sea route for commerce, 314
Ekron, Philistines occupy, 173
El, Phœnician name for Supreme Deity, 219, 369
Elah, head of tribe of Edom, 363
Elam, Assyrian war in, 339
Elath, taken from Judah, 365
Eldaah, subdivision of Midian, 290

Elephants employed in Carthaginian armies, 277
Elissa, *see* Dido
Eluli, king of Tyre, 189; deposed by Sennacherib, 191
Emerald, in temple at Tyre, 164, 230
Emesa, trade route through, 202
Emim, primitive people of Palestine, 247
Empiria, district in Africa, 248
Emporiæ, Greek colony in Spain, 258
Eos, Greek name for Vedic Ushas, 13
Ephah, subdivision of Midian, 290
Epher, subdivision of Midian, 290
Epiphania, *see* Hamath
Epirus, Phœnician settlements in, 163
Erythia, Phœnician colony in Spain, 177
Esarhaddon captures Sitraphernes and Hyphernes, 52; takes Sidon, 192; expedition to Arabia, 313, 337; annals of, 366
Esau founds royal family of Amalekites, 290, 360
Esmun, worship of, 279
Esmunazar, king of Sidon, inscription of, 197
Esus, the Arian "Asura" and Assyrian "Asshur," 12
Ethæos, Nabathæan deity, 370
Ethbaal, king of Tyre, 184
Ethbaal, king of Tyre, 195
Ethiopians, Cushites among, 309; Cambyses resolves to make war on, 97; spies sent; march of army, 98; failure of expedition, 99; application of name, 236
Ethiopians, of Western Africa, 264
Ethiopians, of Asia, included in seventeenth satrapy, 116
Etruscans, assist Carthage against Greece, 259; treaty, 270
Euxenes, the Phœnician coloniser, 258
Ezion Geber, ships built there, 307

F.

Fall of man, account of in the Bundehesh, 37
Farrukhzad, Iranian hero, 42
Feridun, Iranian king, 22, 40
Fervers, heavenly counterparts of natural objects, 32
Fira Modor, 12
Firdusi, his "Book of Kings," 42
Fire, ordeal by among primitive Arians, 10; worship of and temples, 36, 221
Fountain of the sun, 238
France, Phœnician trade with, 200
Fravartis, *see* Phraortes
Future state, Iranian belief in, 33; Arabian belief in, 327, 353

G.

Gades, foundation of, 177, 257, 258
Gahanbar, Arian epoch, 36
Gah Eithrem, Arian period of creation, 36
Gah Hamespthmedem, Arian period of creation, 37
Gah Mediarch, Arian period of creation, 36
Gah Medioshem, Arian period of creation, 36
Gah Mediozerem, Arian period of creation, 36
Gah Peteshem, Arian period of creation, 36
Gambling, Arabs addicted to, 348
Gandarii, conquered by Persians, 87; included in seventh satrapy, 115
Gandharvas, Arian celestial horses, 13
Gannarium, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 267
Garamantians, Libyan tribe, 238, 253
Gatam, tribe of Edom, 290
Gath, occupied by Philistines, 173
Gathas, songs in Yaçna, 27
Gaul, Greek colonies in, 257, 258; Carthaginian, 263; furnishes soldiers to Carthage, 276
Gaza, occupied by Philistines, 173; taken by Sargon, 189
Gebal, Phœnician city, 153, 160, 164; submits to Sennacherib, 191; to Esarhaddon, 192; burial places in, 230
Gebalene, Edomite kingdom of, 364
Gebanitæ, Arab tribe, 292
Gedrosia, conquered by Persians, 88
Gelonus, Scythian city, 134; burned by Darius, 137
Generals, Carthaginian, 273
Gergesenes, habitation of, 150, 160
Germanic tribes, migrations of, 3
Gerrha, 202, 304, 337; prosperity of, 313; decline under Nebuchadnezzar, 316; rise under Persians, 317
Gerrhus, Scythian town, 128
Gerusiæ, *see* Council of the Hundred
Getæ, Scythian tribe, 132; subdued by Darius, 136
Gether, son of Aram, 288
Getulians, African nation, 236
Ghaza hadj, *see* Himyer
Ghifar, Amalekite tribe, 289
Ghumdan, castle at, 320, 321
Gideon, victory over the Midianites, 363
Gigartus, Phœnician city, 152
Gilligammæ, Libyan tribe, 237
Gindanes, Libyan tribe, 240
Girgasi, son of Canaan, 149. *See* Gergesenes

Glass, Phœnician manufacture of, 214
Gobal, *see* Obal
Gobryas, a conspirator against the Magus, 101; suppresses rebellion in Susiana, 110; interprets Scythian gifts, 138
Gomates, *see* Smerdis, the false
Gorillæ, of Western Africa, 265
Gozo, Phœnician settlements in, 179, 230, 255
Greek traditions of deluge, 19; settlements in Asia Minor, 70, 72, 169; attacked by Lydians, 77; by Cyrus, 85; by Mazares and Harpagus, 86; Ionia included in first satrapy, 115; settlement at Panticapæum, 134; employed by Darius in invasion of Scythia, 136; persuaded to break the bridge, 139; Persian preparations for invading, 141; rise of naval power; Argonauts, 168; return of Heraclides, 185; increase of naval power, 188; colonies, 189; competition with Carthage, 256; colonies in Spain and Gaul, 257; contests with Carthage and Etruscans, 259, 260
Gyges founds Lydian dynasty of Mermnadæ, 75; tribute to Assyria, 76; invasion of Cimmerians; death, 77
Gytte, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 264
Gyzantians, Libyan tribe, 242

H.

Habitations of Primitive Arians, 5
Haçan, king of Hejaz, 338
Hadad, Aramæan deity, 219
Hadad, rebellion of, against Solomon, 364
Hadad, king of Edomites, 364
Hadar, son of Ishmael, 294
Hadar, king of Edomites, 364
Hadatta taken by Asshur-bani-pal, 339
Hadj, route of, 145, 326, 354; ceremonies, 356
Hadjûr-el-aswad, *see* Stone
Hadoram, son of Joktan
Hadramaut, district in Arabia, 283, 295; Sablah, 285, 291
Hadrumetum, Carthaginian town, 248
Hadura, Arab tribe, destruction of, 291; subdued by Nebuchadnezzar, 315
Hætumat, halting place of Arians, 40
Hagar and Abraham, 294, 327, 357
Hagarenes, 287
Haig, migration of, to Armenia, 63
Haisdan, early name of Armenia, 63
Hakhamanish, *see* Achæmenes
Haldia, Armenian deity, 64
Halys, boundary between Medes and Lydians, 55; between Semitic and Arian races, 70.
Hamath, town of, 151; trade route through, 202
Hamathi, son of Canaan, 149; descendants, 151
Hamilcar, son of Mago, 269
Handha, Arab prophet, 315
Hanoch, subdivision of Midian, 290
Hanno the Great, 272
Hanno, Periplus of, 263
Hanur, king of Gaza, 336
Hanyfes, Arab sect, 350
Hapta Hindu, *see* Punjaub
Harakaiti, *see* Arachosia
Haran, in Arabia, 201, 320, 343
Harniusa, sea-port in Carmania, 302
Haroyu, *see* Aria
Harpagus, ordered to kill Cyrus, 56, 57; revenge of Astyages, 59; betrays Astyages to Cyrus, 66; sent against Ionian cities, 86
Harran, pilgrimage to, 326
Hasdrubal, son of Mago, 269
Hasdrubal; *see* Clitomachus
Hatasu, Egyptian regent subdues Arabia, 299; fleet of, 305
Haubas, title of deity in Yemen, 323, 324
Haurvatat, "the universe," 32
Havara, 202, 204
Havilah, son of Cush, 285
Havilah, son of Joktan, 291
Hazarmaveth, son of Joktan, 291
Hazor, in Arabia, 341
Hebrews, opposed by Amalekites, 360; invasion of Palestine, 168; victory over Midianites, 362; Gideon's victory, 363; supremacy over Edom, 365; alliance with Tyre, 180; David and Solomon, 181; voyages to Ophir, 183, 306; Omri Ahab and Jezebel, 184; invasion of Tiglath-pileser, 188; end of kingdom of Israel, 189; alliance with Egypt, siege and destruction of Jerusalem, 195, 367; occupation of part of Arabia, 331; released by Cyrus, building of temple, 90; building stopped, 91, 124; governed by high priests, 118; Zerubbabel sent by Darius, 124
Hebron, once Kirjath Arba, 147
Hedjar, name of towns in Arabia, 320
Hedjaz, province in Arabia, 292, 295
Hejer, district in Arabia, 283, 287
Helbon, (Aleppo) trade route through, 202
Helios, from the Arian Surya, 12
Hemeroscopium, Greek colony in Spain, 258
Hephæstos, from the Arian Agni, 12
Heraclidæ, dynasty of, in Lydia, 74
Herbed, name of Zoroastrian priests, 36, 44

Hercules, contest with Cacus, 13
Hermæum, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 267.
Herod, dynasty of, 368
Hertha, the Parthivi Mutar of the Arians, 12
Hesperis, Greek town in Africa, 251
Heth, son of Canaan, 149
Hezekiah, invasion of Arabia in reign of, 332
Hiempsal, library of, 278
Hiero, of Syracuse, 260
Himilco, voyage of, 263
Himyer, son of Abd Shems, 311
Hinda, castle at, 320
Hindoo Koosh, Persians cross, 87
Hippo, Phœnician settlement in Africa, 163, 171, 172
Hippo Zaritus, 248
Hiram, king of Tyre, 181, 306; his buildings, 182
Hirata, or Hira, taken by Asshur-bani-pal, 339
Hisn Ghorab, castle at, 320
Histiæus, of Miletus, preserves Persian bridge, 139
Hittites, or Khita, 147, 149, 150, 155
Hivi, son of Canaan, 149, 150, 151
Homeritæ, Arab tribe, 311
Honeida, castle at, 320
Honover, of Zend Avesta, 15, 28
Horites, destruction of, 146, 286
Hoshea, king of Israel, 188
Hud, Arab prophet, 297
Husham, king of Edomites, 364
Huz, *see* Uz
Hydarnes, a conspirator against the Magus, 101
Hygennians, included in second Satrapy, 115
Hyphlones, Persian satrap captured by Esarhaddon, 52
Hyrcania, subdued by Cyrus, 68
Hyrœades, shows the way to the capture of Sardis, 81

I.

Iberia, subdued by Cyrus, 69
Icthyophagi, sent as spies to Ethiopia, 98
Ida, or Ila, daughter of Manu, 19
Il, name for supreme god in Yemen, 322; local divisions of, 323
Ilahat, female deity of Arabians, 324
Images, forbidden by Zoroaster, 35; Arabian, captured by Sennacherib, 337, 352; worship of, in Arabia, 351; in Caaba, 355
Imbros, taken by Nugabyzus, 140
Indathyeses, king of Scoloti, commands Scythians against Darius, 137
India—Indians, Arian migration; Vedic period; Phœnician trade with, 158, 183, 201; Arabian trade with, 300, 301; Mesopotamian trade through, Gerrha, 314; Caste, 317; Polyandry among anti-Arian tribes, 318; formed into twentieth satrapy, 116; expedition of Darius, 141
India, Arian fire deity, 12; combat with Vritra, 13
Indus, Persian fleet on, 141
Inscriptions of, Behistun, 103; Citium, 191 Esmunazar, 197, 217; Libya and Numidia, 235; Maltai, 46; Marseilles, 217, 260; Mesha, 210, 217; Nahr-el-kelb, 191; Nebuchadnezzar, 342; Nora, 179; Philæ, 351; Shalmaneser, 335; Thebes, 300, 301; Yemen, 324, 326
Intaphurnes, a conspirator against the Magus, 101; put to death by Darius, 102
Iol, Carthaginian colony, 256
Ionians, *see* Greeks
Ios, Phœnician colony at, 162
Iram, costume of Hadj pilgrims, 356
Iram, head of tribe of Edom, 363
Iranians, branch of Arians living in Media and Persia, 2; migrate from valleys of Beloustagh into Bactria, 21; Djemshid, Zohak, and Caveh, 22; Feridum, wars with Turanians, 23; state of civilisation, 24; reforms of Zoroaster, 25; religious books, 27; tenets, 28; morality; veneration for cow and dog; corpses neither buried or burned, 33; mode of worship, 35; horror of idolatry; fire worship; periods of creation, 36; opposition to Zoroaster; expulsion of some tribes, 38; invasion of Media, Susiana and Persia, 39. *See* Medes, Persians
Ireland, Carthaginian voyages to, 267
Irem, palace and garden of Shedad, 296
Iron age, subsequent to bronze age, 157
Isaff, Arabian name for solar deity, 350
Ishbak, tribe of the Katoora, 289
Ishdah, town in Arabia, 340
Ishmael, legend of, 327; Arabian tribes, 294
Israel, *see* Hebrews
Issedonians, Scythian tribe, 134; Customs, 135
Ister, bridge of boats over, 136
Itanum in Crete founded by Phœnicians, 161
Italy, Phœnician trade with, 200; Greek colonies, 188
Ivashtri, Arian name of the deity, 12

Ivory, Phœnician carved work in, 216
Iyrcæ, Scythian tribe, 134

J.

Jadis, subdivision of Ariba, 284, 288
Jash, Phœnician name for the deity, 219
Japoń, king of Libya, 186, 246
Javan, Arian descendants of, 2
Jaxartes, Persians cross, 91
Jebusi, son of Canaan, 149; his descendants, 150
Jeddah, 283, 334; Assyrians at, 341
Jeheth, head of tribe of Edom, 363
Jellalabad, *see* Nagara
Jerah, son of Joktan, 291, 293
Jeshua, high priest of the Hebrews, 124
Jetur, son of Ishmael, 294
Jewelry, Phœnician, 216
Jews, *see* Hebrews
Jinn, Arabian belief in, 352
Jobab, or Jobar, son of Joktan, 291, 292
Jobab, king of Edomites, 364
Jobaritis, Arab tribe, 292
Jodiritis, *see* Jadis
Jokshan, tribe of the Katoora, 289
Joktan, ancestor of Motariba Arabs, 284, 290, 291
Joktanites, migrations of, 293, 297; destroy second Adite empire, 299, 308; modify Adite institutions; feudal system, 318; nobility; seclusion of kings, 319; towns, castles, and municipal government, 320; buildings, 321; religion, 322; names of deity, 323; sun and star worship, 324; temples, 325; pilgrimages, 326; belief in future state, 327
Jorham, attack Amalika, 290, 329, 330, 333; empire of, 293, 333, 346; invaded by Nebuchadnezzar, 343; customs, 344; character, 345, 346; polygamy, 347; culture of vine, 348; connection with Caaba and Hadj, 358
Joshua conquers Amalekites, 360
Junonia, Carthaginian colony in Canary Islands, 268
Jupiter derived from Arian Dyanspetar, 12; contest with Titans, 13

K.

Kadu malka, king of Edom, 365
Kadumah, king of Edom, 366
Kahlan, son of Abd Shems, 311
Kahtan, *see* Joktan
Kahtan, district of, 293
Kai Khosru, Iranian hero, 42
Kakhra, halting place of Arians, 40
Kar Dunyas, port constructed by Nebuchadnezzar, 315
Karkar, battle at, 335
Kashmere conquered by Darius, 141
Katoora, division of the Amalika, 289, 290, 330, 362, 363
Katsiu, "the Aerolite," 221, 369
Kaukaban, castle at, 320
Kausikas, Indian caste, 317
Kedar, son of Ishmael, 294
Kedemar, son of Ishmael, 294, 295
Kedeyre, district in Arabia, 294
Kehana, *see* Divination
Kenas, head of tribe of Edom, 290
Kepher, *see* Soluntum
Kerath hadesheth, *see* Carthage
Kharfesters, evil spirits, 37
Khariba, temple at, 324
Khaulan, *see* Yemen
Khaybar, town in Arabia, 331
Khitas, *see* Hittites
Khneuta, halting place of Arians, 40
Khorapan, *see* Kakhra
Khsathsovairyo, "the powerful king," 32
Khurarin, in Arabia, Assyrians at, 340
Kidah, *see* Divination
Kindana, province in Arabia, 345
Kings of primitive Arians, 9; of Carthage, *see* Suffetes
Kolsum, castle at, 320
Korah, tribe of Edom, 290
Koran, language of, 293
Kulal, title of deity in Yemen, 323

L.

Labynetus, of Babylon, mediates between Medes and Lydians, 55
Laff, Amalekite tribe, 289
Lake Assyrian, or Syrian, 146
Language, of Medes, 43; of nations beyond Hindoo Koosh, 87; of Canaan, 147; of Sabæans, 286; of Arabs generally, 291, 293
Laodice, daughter of Baltus, married to Ahmes, 252
Lasonians, included in second satrapy, 115
Layli, king of Yadih, in Arabia, 338
Leka, *see* Lycians
Lemnos, taken by Megabyzus, 140
Leontopolis, *see* Mahallib
Leptis Magna, Phœnician town, 250
Leptis Minor, Carthaginian town, 248
Library at Carthage, 278
Libya, Libyans confederate with Pelasgi, etc., 167; Phœnicians trade with, 177; district of Libya, 235; arrival of Arian Libyans in Africa, 236; Carthaginian

exploration of, 253; enrolled in armies of Carthage, 276; submit to Cambyses, 97; included in sixth satrapy, 115
Libyo-Pelasgic confederation, invade Egypt, 167, 250
Liby-Phœnician nation, origin of, 172, 236, 247, 255
Ligurians, enrolled in armies of Carthage, 277
Linguistic palæontology, researches into condition of primitive Arians, 4
Lipari islands, Carthaginian colonies in, 270
Lithuanian, tradition of deluge, 20
Lixitæ, tribe of Western Africa, 264
Lixus, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 267
Logos, doctrine of, 15
Lokman, king of the Adites, 298
Lotophagi, Libyan tribe, 240, 250; enrolled in armies of Carthage, 253
Lotteries, Arabian, 348
Lud, son of Aram, 288
Lud, son of Mizraim, 289
Lukaqm, king of the Adites, 299
Lycians in Asia Minor, 70; the ancient Leka, 71; subdued by Persians; Harpagus satrap, 86; included in first satrapy, 115
Lydians, bounded by the Halys, 55; of Semitic race, 70; country, Heraclidæ, Agron, 74; fall of Heraclide dynasty, Gyges, 75; Mermnadæ, tribute to Assyria, Cimmerians, 76; Ardys, war with Ionians, Sadyattes, Alyattes, 77; war with Medes; eclipse; battle, 55, 78; Crœsus, 78; contact with Persians, 69, 79; extent of empire; wealth; manufactures, 79; Persian war, 80; siege of Sardis, 81; capture of city; Greek legends, 82; end of Lydian empire; revolt, 85; Orætes, 111, 112; included in second satrapy, 115
Lying, horror of, in Zend Avesta, 33

M.

Maad, son of Adnan, 343
Maan, Edomite town, 366
Maana, wife of Maad, 343
Macæ, Libyan tribe, 236, 240
Macar, Phœnician town, 250
Machanath, Tyrian settlement in Sicily (Panormus) 189
Machlyans, Libyan tribe, 241
Macoraba, *see* Mecca
Macrobians, Cambyses resolves to make war on, 98
Macrom, subdued by Cyrus, 69; included in nineteenth satrapy, 116
Madeira, Carthaginian settlement in, 269
Mæotians in Chersonese, 136
Magdiel, head of tribe of Edom, 363
Magi, Median tribe, 43; conspiracy of, 100; religion of, 44, 45, 46
Magic, belief in, among Arabs, 353
Magnesia, captured by Lydians, 77; included in first satrapy, 115
Mago, Carthaginian general, 262, 269, 272
Mago, Carthaginian author, 278
Mahallib, Tyrian city, 153
Mahrah, district in Arabia, 283, 295
Mahte, Lithuanian name of deity, 12
Maiti, *see* Mæotians
Malaca, foundation of, 178
Malchus, Carthaginian general in Sicily, 257; in Sardinia, 260; banishment and revolt, 261
Malik, king of Oman, 312
Malta, Phœnician colonies in, 178, 230, 255
Maltai, sculptures at, 46
Manaf, Arab name for Solar deity, 350
Mandane, daughter of Astyages, wife of Cambyses, 56
Mandances, supposed king of the Medes, 41
Mandrocles, of Samos, employed by Darius, 136
Manu, and the deluge, 18
Marathus, Arvaditi city, 151
Mardi, subdued by Cyrus, 69
Mareb, town of Yemen, 283, 285, 320, 321, 324, 346; capital of the second Adites; Dyke, 299, 321, 322; pilgrimage to, 326
Mares, included in nineteenth satrapy, 116
Margiana, halting place of Iranians, 39; subject to Medes, 52; submits to Cyrus, 68; rebellion against Darius, 107, 110
Mariandinians in Asia Minor, 71; subjugated by Croesus, 79; included in third satrapy, 115
Marseilles, people from Phocæa settle there, 86, 257, 258; naval engagement near, 259; temple and inscription, 259
Martius rebels against Darius, 107
Maruts, Arian personification of winds, 13
Marwa, sacred hill near Mecca, 328, 356
Mash, son of Arian, 288
Mashuash, *see* Maxyans
Massa, son of Ishmael, 294
Massagetæ, Persians invade, 91
Massilia, *see* Marseilles
Matar, Amalikiti tribe, 289
Mathan-baal, king of Arvad, 335
Matienians included in eighteenth satrapy, 116

Mauri, Libyan tribe, 236, 243; enrolled in armies of Carthage, 277
Mauritania, Phœnician settlements in, 163
Manshid, Arabian port, 292, 302
Maxyans in Pelasgic confederation, 167, 236, 242
Mazares, Persian general suppresses revolt in Lydia, 85; attacks Ionians, 86
Mazdeism, *see* Zoroaster
Mazel, Arabian image, 356
Mecca, 202, 283, 304, 327
Medan, tribe of the Katoora, 289
Medes, Media, Iranian immigration, 39, 41; wars with Turanians, 42; origin of nation, 42; language; religion, 43, 44, 45; Assyrian conquest, 46; struggles of Arians and Turanians, 47; revolt; republican constitution, 47; Ashabara; victories of Sargon; list of supposed kings; tribal system, 48; conquests of Shalmaneser; Deioces, 49; establishment of royalty; Ecbatana, 50; palace; administration; Phraortes, 50; conquests; Cyaxares, 52; wars with Parthia; Scythian invasion, 53; capture of Nineveh, 54; wars in Susiana and Lydia; eclipse; battle, 55, 78; Astyages, 56; Cyrus, 57; fall of Median empire, 66; Magian revolution, 101; rebellion against Darius, 107; included in tenth satrapy, 115
Medina, 202, 282, 331, 334, 341
Megabyzus, a conspirator against Magus, 101; left in command in Thrace, 139
Megara, Greek town, 188
Melanchlæni, Scythian tribe, 129
Melitta, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 264
Melkarth, Phœnician deity, 174, 220, 229, 279
Melos, Phœnician settlements in, 164, 167, 176, 185, 234
Memnon at siege of Troy, 75
Memphis, capture by Persians, 95, 99
Memra, "the word," 15
Mesha, king of Moab, inscription of, 210; defeat of, 365
Mesha in Arabia, 293
Meschala, Greek settlements, 250
Meschia and Meschiana, first man and woman, 37
Metagonitis, Carthaginian settlements in, 256
Metals, use of, known to primitive Arians, 5; Phœnician work in, 157, 200, 215; trade with nations round Black Sea in, 163, 203
Merv, city of, 39
Mibsam, son of Ishmael, 294
Mibzar, head of tribe of Edom, 363
Midas, inscription of, 73
Midian, *see* Katoora
Miletus, attacked by Lydians, 77, 78; admitted to tribute by Cyrus, 85
Miltiades persuades Ionians to break the Persian bridge, 139
Mina, valley near Mecca, 357
Minorca, Carthaginian colony in, 262
Minotaur, origin of fable, 223
Mirwah, castle at, 320
Mishma, son of Ishmael, 294
Mithra, Arian name of deity, 12; Zoroastrian mediator, 33; the "Asiatic Venus," 46
Mithradaradj, the "evil Mithra," 33
Mizzah, tribe of Edom, 290
Moab, Mesha, king of, 210, 365
Mobed, title of Zoroastrian priests, 36, 44
Modad, guardian of Caaba, 330
Moenaca, Greek colony, 258
Moloch, Ammonite deity, 219; Baal Moloch, 223
Molocram, king of Edom, 365
Monat, Arab name for Lunar deity, 350, 351
Money, coinage of, unknown to Phœnicians, 200
Monotheism of Arians, 11; of Zoroaster, 26; of Phœnicians, 219; of Arabs, 322, 325, 349, 370.
Moscha, *see* Sehhar
Moscha, port in Arabia (Muscat), 302
Moschi, included in nineteenth satrapy, 116
Moses, legend as to his invasion of Arabia, 331
Mostariba, division of Arab tribes, 284, 294
Mosylon, African port, Arabian trade with, 303
Mosynæci, included in nineteenth satrapy, 116
Motariba, division of Arab tribes, 284, 291
Motya, Phœnician colony in Sicily, 189, 255
Mudad, chief of Jorham, 328; common name, 293, 330
Mukhat Karage, Arab town, 339
Mulalacha, Carthaginian settlement in Africa, 267
Muru, *see* Margiana
Musa, *see* Manshid
Music, love of Arabs for, 347
Musicanians subject to Persians, 141
Musri, king of Maan, 366
Mycians, included in fourteenth satrapy, 116
Mylitta, worship of, in Media, 46

Mysians in Asia Minor, 70; subjugated by Croesus, 79; included in second satrapy, 115
Mysteries, initiation of Cambyses, 97

N.

Naaman, castle at, 320
Nabatheans, name substituted for Edomites, 366; subject to Assyria, 367; occupy Judæa; customs, 368; religion, 369
Nabit, see Nebajoth
Nabopolassar allied with Medes against Assyria, 53
Nagara, conquered by Persians, 87
Nahar Malcha, canal restored by Nebuchadnezzar, 315
Nahr-el-kelb, sculptures at, 160
Nahath, tribe of Edom, 290
Naila, Arabian name for lunar deity, 350
Nakhla, worship of Al-Ozza at, 351; tree worship, 352
Namnetes, of Gaul, 266
Nane, Armenian deity, 64
Naphish, son of Ishmael, 294
Naram Ishtar, town of, 339
Narikas, of Malabar, polyandry among, 318
Nasamonians, Libyan tribe, 237; mode of burial, 240; conquered by Carthage, 250; included in territory of Carthage, 253
Nasatyas, one of the Darvands, 32
Nasr, name of deity in Yemen, 322; pilgrimage in honour of, 326
Nathan, king of Nabatheans, 339, 366
Nattabirus rebels against Persians at Babylon, 105
Naucratis, commercial port in Egypt, 316
Nazana (Cæsarea) Tyrian city, 153
Nebajoth, son of Ishmael, 294, 329, 330
Nebuchadnezzar marries daughter of Cyaxares, 53; defeats Necho, 194; invades Palestine, 195, 367; takes Tyre, 196, 255, 342; invades Arabia, 292, 342, 367; forms new route for commerce, 314, 342; great works, 315
Necho invades Palestine; circumnavigates Africa, 193, 314, 367; defeat of, 194
Nedjran, town in Yemen, 283; palm tree of, 325
Nefud, desert in Arabia, 283
Nephilim, branch of Anakim, 147
Neuri, Scythian tribe, 128, 133
Niger, early exploration to, 253
Nineveh, capture of, by Medes and Chaldæans, 54
Nisaya, or Nisæa, halting place of Arians, 39
Nisibis, trade route through, 202
Noman, Arab king, 312
Nora, Phœnician colony, 179
Notation, decimal used by primitive Arians, 7
Numidia, Phœnician settlements in, 163, 236, 243, 246, 277

O.

Oaros, forts built by Darius on, 137
Obal, son of Joktan, 291
Odin, Scandinavian myth of, 20
Oea, Phœnician town, 250
Oedipus and his family, 170
Oesyme, Sidonian voyages to, 162
Oetosyrus, Scythian deity, 129
Ogyges, Greek myth of, 19
Oliaros, Phœnician settlements in, 162
Oman, province in Arabia, 283, 285, 295
Oman, tribe of Edom, 290
Omra, holy places visited by pilgrims, 356
Onuba, Phœnicians at, 177
Ophir, Hebrew and Tyrian voyages to, 283, 306
Ophir, son of Joktan, 291, 292
Opis, commercial depot, 314
Ops, or Tellus Mater, 12
Optimate families at Carthage, 275
Ordeal, trial by, among primitive Arians, 10
Orestes and Iphigenia, 135
Ormus, *see* Harmuza
Ormuzd, contest with Ahriman, 13; creation of the world by, 28, 36; author of all good, 30; figure represented, 36
Ornithopolis, *see* Avatha
Oroetes, satrap of Lydia, 111; his death, 112
Orthocorybantes, included in tenth satrapy, 116
Orthosia, *see* Simron
Ostara, German myth as to, 13
Otanes, a conspirator against the Magus, 101
Ouranos, the Arian Varuna, 12

P.

Pactolus, gold washings in, 79
Pactyas escapes to Cyme with Lydian treasures; given up to Persians, 85
Pactyica, included in thirteenth satrapy, 116
Palestine, primitive populations of, 146, 148; travels of the Egyptian officer, 148, 160; Egyptian supremacy, 160; invasion of Shishak, 183; of Assyrians,

184, 185, 188, 191, 192, 193; of Necho, 193; of Nebuchadnezzar, 195, 367
Pallas Tritonida, worship of, 241
Palmyra, trade route through, 202: inhabitants of, 287
Pamir, the original habitation of the Arians, 39
Pamphylians, in Asia Minor, 70; subjugated by Croesus, 79; included in first satrapy, 115; government, 118
Panormus, Phœnician colony, 189
Panticapæum, Greek settlement, 134, 135
Pantimathi subdued by Cyrus, 68; included in eleventh satrapy, 116
Papæus, Scythian deity, 129
Paphos, Phœnician settlements in, 164
Paphlagonians, in Asia Minor, 70; subjugated by Croesus, 79; included in third satrapy, 115
Paretaceni, Median tribe, 43
Paricanians, included in the tenth and seventeenth satrapies, 116
Parsondas, Median chief, 48
Parthians, conquered by Medes, 52; submit to Cyrus, 68; rebellion against Darius, 107, 109; included in sixteenth satrapy, 116
Parthivi mutar, "earth mother," 12
Pausicæ, included in eleventh satrapy, 116
Pearl fisheries, 303
Pelasgi, ancient rites of, resemble Vedic, 14; Phœnician trade with, 162; confederation of, 167
Pentheus, king of Boeotia, 170
Pergamus, gold mines in, 79
Perinthus, taken by Megabyzus, 140
Perizzites, of Canaan, 151
Persepolis, built by Darius; palace, 120; inscriptions, 141
Persia—Persians, invaded by Iranians, 39, 41; conquered by Medes; early kings, 52; country; manners and customs, 59; tribes; religion; government, 60; assemblies; education; Cyrus usurps government, 61; revolt of Cyrus, 62, 66; conquests; extent of empire, 68, 69; attacked by Lydians, 80; defeat of Lydians, 81; capture of Sardis, 82; attack on Ionians, 85, 86; conquest of part of India, 87; destruction of Chaldæan empire, 89; release of Hebrews, 90; war with Massagetæ, 91; death of Cyrus, 92; Cambyses' invasion of Egypt, 94, 95; expedition against Ethiopians and Ammonians, 98, 99; rebellion of Magi, 100; the false Smerdis; death of Cambyses, 101; Darius, 102; inscription at Behistun, 103; rebellions, 105, 106; Oroetes, 111; organisation of empire, 112, 113; tributes of provinces, 114; satrapies, 115; administration, 116, 117, 118; postal arrangements, 119; palace, 120; art, 121 invasion of Scythia, 126, 136; Thracians and Getæ, 136; retreat of Scythians, 137; gifts, 138; retreat and disasters of Persians, 139; Cyrene and Carthage, 140, 271; India; fleet on the Indus, 141; preparations for invasion of Greece, 142; fleet, 165; destruction of Nebuchadnezzar's works, 316, 368
Persian Gulf, Phœnician settlements on, 304
Peshawar conquered by Persians 87; (Puru shapura).
Petra, trade route through, 202, 304, 314, 317, 368; taken by Amaziah, 365; by Antigonus, 370
Phanes, leader of Greek mercenaries in Egypt, 94
Philæ, inscriptions at, 351
Philæni, altars of, 252
Philistines, confederation with Pelasgi, 167; invade Palestine, 172; take Sidon, 173
Philology, comparative, application of, to ascertain condition of primitive Arians, 4
Phinehas defeats Midianites, 362
Phla, island near coast of Libya, 241
Phocæa besieged by Harpagus; people fly to Alalia and Marseilles, 86, 258
Phœnicia, Phœnicians of Canaanitish race; original seat on Persian Gulf; migration, 144; description of country, 152; resist Hebrew and Philistine invasion, 154; early trade and voyages, 156; tin trade, 159; submission to Egypt, 161; trade with, 163; supremacy of Sidon, Tyre, 164; furnish ships to suzerain power, 165; fleets on Mediterranean and Red Sea, 166; towns taken by Hebrews, 168; colonies, 169, 172; Sidon destroyed, 173, 305; confederation, 174; government; king of Tyre supreme, 175; alterations in trade route, 176; Africa and Spain, 177, 178, 179; alliance with Israel, 180; voyages on Red Sea, 183, 305, 396; Assyrian invasion, 184, 185; Carthage, 186; Assyrian suzerainty, 187; Greek aggression on colonies; Sargon, 189; siege of Tyre, 190; Sennacherib, 191; Esarhaddon, 192; Asshur-bani-pal, 193; Necho; circumnavigation of Africa, 193; tin trade, 194; league with Egypt against Babylon; siege of Tyre, 195; invasion of Egyptians; capture of Sidon; naval battle, 196; prosperity of Sidon, 197; succession of kings at Tyre; submission to Persians, 198; refusal to sail against Carthage, 98, 199, 270; included in fifth satrapy, 115; allowed to retain native kings, 118; commerce and navigation, 199; barter, 200; Baltic Sea; Arabia; India, 201; routes, 202, 203, 303; wealth, 204; influence on neigh-

bouring nations, 205; writing, 206, 212; art and agriculture, 214, 231, 232, 233; glass; pottery; bronze, 215; jewelry; carved ivory, 216; sacred books, 218; religion, 219; human sacrifices, 223; cosmogony, 224; architecture, 229; temples and tombs, 230; exports to Arabia, 304
Phraortes succeeds Deioces as king of the Medes, 51; conquest of Persia; conquests in East and West; invasion of Assyria; defeat and death, 52
Phraortes, the rebel against Darius, 107; defeat, 109
Phrygians in Asia Minor, 70; Bryges, 71; civilization, 72; wealth; religion; monuments; art, 73; included in third satrapy, 115
Phul, revolt against Assyrians, 47
Pilgrimages religious, 146, 326, 354, 370
Pinon, head of tribe of Edom, 363
Pithemsa, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 256
Planets, worship of Phœnician, 221; Arabian, 351, 355, 370
Plataea island, near coast of Libya, 237; Greek colony, lands at, 251
Poena, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 267
Poetry, passion of Arabs for, 347
Polyandry among Sabæans, 318
Polycrates, of Samos, his death, 112
Polydorus, king of Bœotia, 170
Polygamy among Arabs, 347
Pontus, special privileges of, under Persian rule, 117
Pottery, Phœnician, 215
Pragapati, Arian name of the deity, 12
Pranzimas, Lithuanian deity, 20
Priene taken by Lydians, 77; by Mazares, 85
Prophets, Arabian, 287
Proserpine, worshipped at Carthage, 279
Protis, Phocæan coloniser, 258
Psammetik III., king of Egypt, attacked by Cambyses, 94; defeat and fate, 95, 96
Psylli, Libyan tribe, 237
Ptolemais, *see* Acco
Pun, *see* Arabia
Punjaub, entry of Arians into, 40
Purusha, Arian name of deity, 12
Purple, Phœnician, 214
Pygmalion, 185; emigration of aristocratic party, 186; compelled to submit to suzerainty of Assyria, 187
Pyrene, Greek town in Gaul, 287

Q.

Queens of the Arabs, 300, 301, 334, 337, 347

R.

Raamah, son of Cush, 285
Ragha, halting place of Arians, 40
Rahma, title of deity in Yemen, 323, 324
Raidan, castle at, 320
Rala, wife of Ishmael, 329
Raphia, battle at, 336
Rass, province of Yemen, 291
Rayam, name of deity in Yemen, 326
Regma, town in Arabia, 285
Rekem, king of Arkam, 290
Religion, early Arian, 10, 25, 87; Egyptian, 12; Assyrian, 13; Median and Persian, 44, 45, 46, 101, 104; Armenian, 64, 67; Phrygian, 73; Hebrew, 90; Scythian, 129, 132; Libyan, 167; Phœnician, 183, 219, 232; Carthaginian, 279; Arabian, 296, 322, 323, 324, 349, 369
Remeneu, *see* Armenians
Rephaim, early inhabitants of Palestine, 146, 147
Rèservoirs, Arabian, 322
Resheph, Phœnician deity, 221, 222
Resin, king of Damascus, 336
Rhoda, Greek colony in Spain, 258, 259
Rhodes, Phœnician establishments in, 162, 176, 185, 234, 258
Rodha, Arabian deity, 351
Ruscino, Tyrian town in Gaul, 258
Rusibis, Carthaginian settlement in Africa, 267
Rustem, Iranian hero, 40, 42

S.

Saba, *see* Mareb
Sabæans, Cushite, 286, 292, 308; in Abyssinia, 309, 310; manners; government; caste, 317; polyandry; feudal system, 318; religion, 325. *See* Joktanites
Sabæans, Semitic, 308
Sabota, capital of Hadramaut, 285, 320, 346
Sabtah, son of Cush, 285
Sabtecah, son of Cush, 285, 310
Sacæ, subdued by Cyrus, 68; rebel, 107; subdued, 111; included in fifteenth satrapy, 116
Sacæ, Scythian tribe, 135; subdued by Darius, 136
Sacrifice among primitive Arians, 14; of horse, 15; forbidden by Zoroaster, 35; among Scythians, 129; human, 223, 260, 280
Sacsac, Arab king, 312
Sad, Amalekite tribe, 289
Sadyattes, king of Lydia, 77

Safa, hill near Mecca, 328, 356
Sagartia, rebellion against Darius in, 109; included in fourteenth satrapy, 116
Sahaba, African race, 285
Sair, Arabian fire deity, 351
Sakhulina, king of Hamath, 335
Sala, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 267
Salapeni, or Shcleph, tribe of Hadramaut, 291
Saleh, Arabian prophet, 287
Salkin, castle at, 320
Salman, Assyrian deity, the Yathaa of the Arabs, 322
Salt hills in Africa, 238
Salyes, Gaulish tribe, 258
Samah, title of deity in Yemen, 323, 324
Samaria, capture of, by Assyrians, 169
Samayda, chief of the Katoora, 328
Sambeans, subject to Persians, 141
Samlah, king of the Edomites, 364
Samuel sends Saul against Amalekites, 361
Sana, town in Yemen, 283, 320, 322, 324; pilgrimages, to, 326
Sapor, inscription of, 44
Sapta Sindhu, *see* Punjaub
Sarangians, included in fourteenth satrapy, 116
Sarasvati, or Vach, 15
Sardinians, confederate with Pelasgi, &c., 167; Phœnician colonies among, 179; Malchus invades, 260; Mago invades, 262; commencement of great war, 271
Sardis taken by Cimmerians, 77; besieged and taken by Cyrus, 81, 82
Sarepta, Tyrian city, 153, 160; submits to Sennacherib, 191
Sargasso Sea discovered by Carthaginians, 269
Sargon, wars with Medes, 48, 49; invades Palestine, 189, 336; siege of Tyre, 190
Saruka, king of Saca, taken prisoner, 111
Saspeires included in eighteenth satrapy, 116
Sati, early inhabitants of Palestine, 148
Satrapies, Persian, 115, 116
Sattagydæ conquered by Persians, 87; rebellion of, 107; included in seventh satrapy, 115
Saturn, the Savitei of the Arians, 12; human sacrifices to, in Rhodes, 224
Sauhathan, castle at, 320
Saul, king of Israel, conquers Amalekites, 361
Saul, king of Edomites, 364
Sauromatæ, Scythian tribe, 133
Savitri, Arian name for the deity, 12
Sawaha, Arabian name for Lunar deity, 350, 351, 352
Sayyida, wife of Ishmael, 329
Sbantarad, Armenian deity, 64
Scalps, Scythian preserve, 130
Scapte Hyle, Sidonian voyages to, 162
Scilly Isles, *see* Britain
Scoloti, Royal Scythians, 129
Scylax, navigation of, on Indus, 141
Scythians invade Western Asia, 53, 193; Median insurrection, 53; Darius purposes to invade, 126; country and tribes, 127; customs, 128; religion, 129; mode of burial, 131; religion of Getæ, 132; invasion of Darius; council of the tribes, 136; retreat, 137; "gifts" to Darius, 138; attempt to delay Persians; escape of Darius, 139
Seba, son of Cush, 285
Sedd Marab, great reservoir, 299
Selah, *see* Petra
Selinus, successively Carthaginian and Greek town, 257
Sena, island of, 267
Senate, Carthaginian, 273
Sendad, worship of Dhu-l-Calat at, 351
Sennacherib invades Palestine; takes Tyre, 191; invades Arabia, 313, 337
Sephar (Zaphar), port in Arabia, 293, 302
Seraa, Phœnician city, 154, 161
Serbal, Mount, pilgrimage to, 370
Sertorius, his project to retire to Madeira, 269
Set, Hittite deity, 219
Seti I., his canal, 305; conquers Shashu, 360
Sex, Phœnician colony, 178
Shaari lobur (Sirius), worship of, in Yemen, 324, 351
Shalmaneser, invasion of Palestine by, 185; conquest of Media, 49
Shammar, tribe of Edom, 290
Shammir, Arabian king, said to be contemporary with Cyrus, 312
Shamsie, queen of the Arabs, 335, 336
Shamulshamugin, rebellion of, 338
Shasu, Egyptian name for Amalika, 359
Shat-el-Arab, Nebuchadnezzar's works at, 315
Sheba, son of Joktan, 291
Sheba, queen of, 300, 306
Sheba, *see* Abd Shems
Shedad, sons of Ad, 296
Shedid, sons of Ad, 296
Shcleph, son of Joktan, 291
Shems, name of deity in Yemen, 322, 324, 334, 336, 351
Shepherd kings of Egypt, 155, 158

Sheshbazzar made governor of Hebrews, 90, 124
Shishak invades Palestine, 183
Shoail, Arabian prophet, 291, 315
Shophetim, *see* Suffetes
Shuah, tribe of the Katoora, 289
Shutruk-nakhunta makes war on Assyria, 47
Sicca, Carthaginian town, 248
Sicilians, confederate with Pelasgi, 167; colonies among, 179, 188; Malchus invades, 257. *See* Colonies.
Sidon, son of Canaan, 149
Sidon, Sidonians, first Phœnician settlement in Canaan; seafaring habits, 149; divisions of city, 153; early voyages, 156; tin trade, 159, 160; submission to Egypt, 161; colonies, 162, 169; trade, 163; supremacy over Phœnician towns, 164; commencement of decline, 167; Hebrew invasion, 168; destroyed by Philistines, 173, 305; fugitives take refuge at Tyre, 174; Aradus, 168; submission to Sargon, 189; to Sennacherib, 191; rise of power; taken by Esarhaddon, 192; by Uahprahet, 196; prosperity; Esmunazar, 197; burial places, 230
Sihr, *see* Magic
Simdan, name of deity in Yemen, 322, 323, 324
Simeon, tribe of, invade Arabia, 322
Simron, capital of Arkitis, 152; submits to Sennacherib, 191; to Esarhaddon, 192
Simyra, capital of Zemaritis, 152
Sin, name of deity in Yemen, 322
Sindi, in Chersonese, 136
Sini, son of Canaan, 149; habitation of descendants, 151, 153
Sinna, capital of Sinites, 153
Siphaos, Phœnician settlements at, 162
Sipyla, taken by Lydians, 77
Sirwah, castle at, 320
Sitraphernes, Persian, made prisoner by Esarhaddon, 52
Sitratachmes rebells against Darius, 109
Skulls of enemies preserved by Scythians, 130
Smerdis, son of Cyrus, 93; put to death by Cambyses, 99
Smerdis, the false, rebellion of, 100; conspiracy against, 101; put to death, 102
Smerdis, the false, No. 2, rebels against Darius; taken and crucified, 110
Socotra, trade depot in Indian Ocean, 302
Sogdiana, halting place of Iranians, 39; subject to Medes, 52; submits to Cyrus, 68; included in sixteenth satrapy, 116
Sohail (Canopus) worship of, in Yemen, 322
Solomon, his fleet on Red Sea, 166, 183, 306, 364; connection with Arabia, 300; traditions of, in Abyssinia, 310
Soluntum, Phœnician colony, 189
Solymis, in Asia Minor, 70, 162
Soma, divine beverage of primitive Arians, 14
Sosarmus, supposed king of the Medes, 48
Soul, belief in immortality of, 33, 327; depicted as a bird, 353
Spain, Phœnician trade with, 158, 159, 177, 178, 200, 249; Carthaginian expedition, 255; Greek, 258; furnishes soldiers to Carthage, 276. *See* Colonies
Spargapises, son of Queen of Massagetæ, 91
Spartans forbid Persians to attack Ionia, 85
Sphinx, Arabian, 322
Standard, sacred, of Iranians, 23
Stone, Phœnician, worship of, 221, 230; Arabian, 325, 352, 355
Stone age, in Mediterranean basin, 200
Struchates, Median tribe, 43
Sudras, Indian caste, 317
Suffetes, at Carthage, their position and power, 273
Sukhi, province of Arabia, 345
Sun, fountain of, 238; worship of, in Yemen, 324, 325
Surya, Arian sun deity, 12
Susa, built by Darius, 119; palace of, 120
Susiana invaded by Iranians, 39; subjugated by Medes, 55; rebellion against Darius, 105, 107, 110
Sutakh, Arabian town, 339
Sutekh, worship of, 219
Sword, worship of, in Scythia, 129
Sydres, subject to Persians, 141
Syennesis, of Cilicia, mediates between Medes and Lydians, 55
Syracuse, Greek town in Sicily, 189
Syrians included in third and fifth satrapies, 115
Syros, Phœnician settlements at, 162

T.

Ta, Nabathean deity, 370
Tabalus, made governor of Sardis, 85
Tabiti, Scythian deity, 129
Tabuya made queen of Arabs by Esarhaddon, 337
Tacape, Carthaginian town, 248
Tadmor, *see* Palmyra
Taez, town in Arabia, 320

Talus, origin of legend of, 223
Tanith, goddess, 222, 279
Tarik, "darkness," 32
Tarshish, *see* Tharsis
Tartessus, *see* Tharsis
Tashter, the Arian "Creator Spirit," 37
Tasm, subdivision of the Ariba, 284, 288
Tatnai, satrap of Syria, 125
Tawaf, circuits round Caaba made by pilgrims, 356
Tayf, sanctuary of Allat at, 351
Tebala, pilgrimage to, 326
Tehama, district in Arabia, 282, 295
Teians fly from the Persians to Abdera, 86
Tema, son of Ishmael, 294
Teman, head of tribe of Edom, 363; tribe, 290
Temple, not used by Iranians, 35; Arabian, 321, 324, 325, 353; at Jerusalem, 90, 124, 126, 181, 182, 229; at Marseilles, 260; Phœnician, 164, 174, 181, 197, 229; at Carthage, 263; in Malta, 179; Scythian, 129
Ten, Council of at Carthage, 274
Tenerife, Carthaginian accounts of, 269
Teredon, *see* Kar Dunyas
Teuchira, Greek town in Africa, 251
Teumman, king of Elam, 338
Teyma, town in Arabia, 294
Thales, of Miletus, said to have foretold eclipse, 55
Thamanæans, included in fourteenth satrapy, 116
Thamimasidas, Scythian deity, 129
Thammuz, Phœnician deity, 220, 223
Thamud, destruction of, 146; subdivision of Ariba, 284; same as Horites, 286
Thapsacus, trade route through, 202
Tharsis, Phœnician settlement in Italy, 177
Tharsis, Phœnician settlement in Spain, 177, 257
Thasos, Phœnician trade to; gold mines, 162, 167, 168, 176, 190, 191
Theandrios, Nabathæan deity, 370
Thebes (in Bœotia), Phœnician colony, 169, 204
Thera, Phœnician establishments in, 162, 167, 196, 185, 234; Greeks send colonies to Cyrene, 251
Theste, defeat of Egyptians at, 251
Thracians, Asiatic, included in third satrapy, 115
Thracians, European, submit to Darius, 136; subdued by Megabyzus, 139
Thractana (Feridun), 40
Thymaterium, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 263
Thyssagetæ, Scythian tribe, 134
Tibareni, subdued by Cyrus, 69; included in nineteenth satrapy, 116
Tiglath-pileser I., 64, 185, 334
Tiglath-pileser II., 65, 188, 335
Tigranes, king of Armenia, 65; revolts with Cyrus, 66; remains in alliance with Cyrus, 67
Timbuctoo, site of reached by Carthaginian explorers, 254
Timnah, head of tribe of Edom, 363
Tin, Phœnician trade in, 158, 194, 200, 255. *See* Britain
Tingis, Carthaginian colony in Africa, 267
Tomb of Cyrus, 92; of Darius Xerxes, 121; at Panticapes, 130
Tomyris, queen of Massagetæ, 91
Toweik, mountain in Arabia, 295
Trees, worship of sacred, 325, 352
Tribes of primitive Arians, 9; of Medes, 48; Persian, 60
Tributes of Persian satrapies, 114, 115
Tripolis, founded by people of Aradus, Sidon, and Tyre, 152
Triton, settlements round Lake, 172
Tritopatores, the Vedic Tritsu, 13
Troglodytes, Ethiopian, 239; of Western Africa, 264
Tunis, Tyrian colony in Africa, 248
Turanians, wars with Iranians, 23
Turdetani, Spanish tribe, 177, 258
Tylos, island in Persian Gulf, 304
Tylos, *see* Tyre
Tyrcæ, Scythian tribe, 134
Tyre, divisions of city, 153, 164; rises on fall of Sidon, 174; king of Tyre supreme, 175; trade with Africa and Spain, 177, 178, 179; alliance with Israel, 180, 305; Hiram; Abibaal, 181; buildings; territory assigned by Solomon, 182; fleets on Red Sea, 183, 306; disorders; Ethbaal; the Assyrians, 184, 307; Baaleazar; Shalmaneser; Mathan; Pygmalion, 185; emigration of aristocratic party, 186; suzerainty of Assyria; Bodastoreth, 187; siege by Sargon; naval victory, 190; invasion of Sennacherib; Tyre taken, 191; tyranny of Tyrians, 192; Asshurbanipal, 193; commerce and riches, 194, 314; siege by Nebuchadnezzar; capture, 195; succession of kings, 198; burial places, 230; loss of colonies, 255, 342; merchants driven to other ports, 316
Tyrian towns in Africa, 247
Tyrselus, Carthaginian town, 248

U.

Uabaiathos, Nabathæan deity, 370
Uahprahet, king of Egypt, 195: invades Palestine, 196, 367; invades Cyrene; defeated, 251

Udum, Arabian town, 339
Ukhsyaderema, "the increasing light," 30
Ukhsyadereta, "the increasing truth," 30
Ullusun of Van, in alliance with Urtsa, 65
Urotal, Arabian solar deity, 350, 351
Urtsa, king of Armenia; war with Sargon, 65
Urva, halting place of Iranians, 40
Us, Phœnician city; submits to Sennacherib, 191
Ushas, Arian personification of the dawn, 13
Utians, included in fourteenth satrapy,
Utica, foundation of, 177, 245; supremacy, 247, 248
Uz, son of Aram, 288
Uzal, son of Joktan, 291
Uzala, Greek settlements at, 250

V.

Vacca, Carthaginian town, 248
Vach, "the Word," 15
Vackerata, halting place of the Arians, 40
Vahaku, Armenian deity, 64
Vahyazdata, *see* Smerdis the false, No. 2
Van, fortification attributed to Semiramis, 64; built by Agistes, 65
Varena, halting place of Arians, 40
Varuna, Arian deity, 12
Vedas, quotations from, 11, 17; deities to be worshipped, 13; rites prescribed in, 14; mention of Zoroaster in, 38
Vendidad, portion of Zend Avesta, 27, 39, 40, 44, 46
Veneti, of Gaul, 266
Venice, resemblance of government to that of Carthage, 274
Vessels (boats or ships), used by primitive Arians, 6; in Arabian trade with India, 302
Vessels, sacred, of Temple, 126
Vesta, the Agni of the Arians, 12
Vidævadata, *see* Vendidad
Vine, culture of in Arabia, 348, 369
Virgin and Child, image of in Caaba, 355
Vispered, portion of Zend Ayesta, 27
Visvedevas, plural name used in Vedas for the Deity, 11
Vohu Manu, "the good spirit," 32
Vrtiza, his combat with Indra, 13

W.

Wadd, Arabian name for solar deity, 350
Wady Feiran, pilgrimages to, 370
Wagons, used by primitive Arians, 6
Walls of Ecbatana, colours of, 50
Water, ordeal by among primitive Arians, 10
Wathil, Arab king, 312
Watr, title of Joktanite nobles, 319
Wine, love of Arabs for, 348
Wisdom of Solomon, 15
Wives, treatment of by primitive Arians, 8
Word, the, doctrine of, 15, 28
Worship, forms of, among primitive Arians, 14; among Arabs, 325, 353; of deceased ancestors, 327
Writing, Persian cuneiform, 122; Shepherds borrow Hieratic Egyptian, 156, 208, 212; Phœnician, 206, 212; Egyptian, 207; Arabian, 348

X.

Xathres, subdued by the Persians, 141
Xenophon, and the retreat of the Ten Thousand, 203

Y.

Yabrud, Arab town, 339
Yaçna, portion of Zend Avesta, 27, 28
Yafar, town in Yemen, 283
Yafar, Arab king, 312
Yaghuth, pilgrimage in honour of, 326; solar deity, 350, 351, 352
Yala, made king of Hejaz by Esarhaddon, 337
Yambul, province in Arabia, 337
Yanbo, 202, 282, 334, 341
Yarek, Arab town, taken by Assyrians, 340
Yarub destroys second Adite empire, 299, 308, 310, 311, 333
Yashammeh, town in Arabia, 340
Yashdjob, successor of Yarub, 311
Yasili-Kaia, sculptures at, 46
Yataamir, Arab king, Sargon's contemporary, 312, 336
Yathaa, name of deity in Yemen, 322, 324
Yathrib, *see* Medina
Yauk, pilgrimage in honour of, 326; solar deity, 350, 351, 352
Yavana, division of Arians, 2
Yazatas, *see* Yzeds
Year, lunar, used by primitive Arians, 7; by Arabs, 348, 355
Yemana, district in Arabia, 283, 295
Yemen, province of Arabia, 283, 295; same as Havilah, 285
Yerak, town in Arabia, 293, 340
Yerim, province in Arabia, 296
Yezidis, "devil worshippers," 45
Ywaite, king of Hejaz, 338, 341
Yzeds, spirits subordinate to Amshaspands, 32, 37

Z.

Zafar, in Yemen, founded by Shammir, 312, 320
Zal, taken by Shasu, 360
Zama, Carthaginian town, 248
Zamolxis, Scythian deity; messengers to, 132
Zamzummim, primitive people of Palestine, 147
Zarik, "poison," 32
Zaritus, *see* Hippo
Zarvanakarana, doctrine of, 31
Zarvanians, pantheism of, 31, 45
Zaveeians, Libyan tribe, 242, 246
Zebibie, queen of the Arabs, 335
Zedekiah, king of Judah, 195, 367
Zemari, son of Canaan, 149; habitation of descendants, 151, 160
Zemzem, well, 328
Zend Avesta, 15, 24; account of, 27, 33, 36
Zepho, tribe of Edom, 290
Zerah, tribe of Edom, 290
Zerubbabel, sent by Darius to Jerusalem, 124
Zeugitana, 246, 248
Zicharbaal, husband of Dido, 186
Ziklag, taken by Amalekites, 361
Zilia, Carthaginian settlement in Africa, 267
Zimran, tribe of Katoora, 289
Zohak, the Tyrant, 22
Zopyrus betrays Babylon, 106
Zoroaster, religious reforms, 25; monotheism, 26; religious system and books, 27; dualism, 29; Ormuzd and Ahriman, 30; good and evil angels, 31; the mediator, Mithra, 32, 33; belief in future state, 33; creation divided into good and bad, 34; condition reversed by death; sacrifices; no images, 35; opposition to, 37; Rig Veda, 38; contrast to Magism, 44, 45; Persian doctrine, 60; reforms of Cyrus, 62; Armenia, 67; not known beyond Hindoo Koosh, 87
Zouaves, *see* Zaveeians
Zuhal, the planet Saturn, 351, 353
Zuzim, primitive people of Palestine, 147

END OF INDEX.

Wertheimer, Lea, & Co., Printers, Finsbury Circus, London.

LIST OF SCRIPTURE TEXTS QUOTED.

		PAGE
Gen.	x. 289,	291
	x. 7	285
	x. 18	144
	x. 23	288
	26—29	291
	30	288
	xiii. 7	148
	xiv. 5	147
	7	360
	6—8	149
	xvii. 8—16	360
	xxii. 21	288
	xxv. 2	289
	4 290,	363
	13—15	294
	xxxvi. 15—17 290,	360
	20	288
	32—39	364
	40, 41	363
Num.	xiv. 43	360
	xx. 18	364
	xxxi. 8	290
Deut.	ii. 4 *seq.*	363
	20, 23	147
	xxv. 17—19	360
Jos.	xi. 8	169
	xiii. 21	290
	xv. 13, 54	147
	xvi. 7	179
Jud.	iii. 12—30	361
	vi. 5	361
	vii.	363
1 Sam.	xv. 3, 5—7	361
	xxx. 1—5	361
	9—17	362
2 Sam.	v. 11	181
	viii. 14	364
1 Kings	v. 2—6	182
	11	183
	ix. 11	182
	26, 27	183
	x. 1—13	306
	22	183
	xi. 1—5	183
	15—21	364
	xiv. 25, 26	183
	xv. 19	188
2 Kings	iii.	210
	iii. 9—26	365
	xiv. 7	365
	xvi. 6	365
1 Chron.	iv. 42, 43	332
	vii. 28	179
	ix. 8	210
2 Chron.	xx. 1, 10	365
	35—37	307
Ezra	i. 2—4	90
Job	i. 1	288
	ii. 11	363
Prov.	viii. ix.	16
Is.	xxi. 13—17	337
	xxxiv. 6	364
	lx. 6	363
	lxiii. 1	364
Jer.	v. 15	54

	PAGE
Jer. vi. 22, 23	54
viii. 16	54
ix. 10	54
xlvii. xlix.	367
xlix. 13, 22	364
Ezek. xvi. 10—13	203
xxi. 21—22	353
xxvi. 2	194
xxvii. —	194, 203
Ezek. xxvii. 15—16, 20—23	302, 303, 342
xxviii. —	176, 204
xxix. 18	195
Amos i. 12	364
ii. 1	365
9	150
Zeph. ii. 9	211

REFERENCES TO HERODOTUS IN VOL. II.

All quotations are from the translation of the Rev. Professor Rawlinson.

			PAGE
Book I.	Chap.	1	202
,,	,,	4	112
,,	,,	7	74
,,	,,	17	78
,,	,,	55	80
,,	,,	74	55
,,	,,	80	81
,,	,,	85	84
,,	,,	96	49
,,	,,	97	49
,,	,,	98	49
,,	,,	99	49
,,	,,	101	43
,,	,,	106	53
,,	,,	107	56
,,	,,	114	57
,,	,,	125...24, 43,	60
,,	,,	131..... 35,	46
,,	,,	132	35
,,	,,	136	61
,,	,,	137	60
,,	,,	163	258
,,	,,	167	259
,,	,,	177	87
,,	,,	211	91
,,	,,	212	91
,,	,,	213	91
,,	,,	214	91
Book II.	Chap.	32	254
,,	,,	43	148
,,	,,	44	164
Book III.	Chap.	1	94
,,	,,	8... 94, 344, 351	
,,	,,	9	344
,,	,,	12	95
,,	,,	14	96
,,	,,	15	96
,,	,,	34	100
,,	,,	35	100
,,	,,	68	101
,,	,,	89	114
,,	,,	90	114
Book III.	Chap.	127	111
,,	,,	128	111
Book IV.	Chap.	26	135
,,	,,	59	129
,,	,,	62	130
,,	,,	64	131
,,	,,	65	131
,,	,,	66	131
,,	,,	70	131
,,	,,	71	132
,,	,,	72	132
,,	,,	94	132
,,	,,	104	133
,,	,,	108	
,,	,,	127	38
,,	,,	131	138
,,	,,	132	138
,,	,,	143	106
,,	,,	159	251
,,	,,	168	238
,,	,,	173	238
,,	,,	176	241
,,	,,	180	241
,,	,,	181	239
,,	,,	182	239
,,	,,	183	239
,,	,,	184	239
,,	,,	186	239
,,	,,	188	240
,,	,,	190	240
,,	,,	191	242
,,	,,	193	242
,,	,,	194	242
,,	,,	196	268
Book VI.	Chap.	47	162
Book VII.	Chap.	8—19.	61
,,	,,	20	71
,,	,,	75	71
Book VIII.	Chap.	143	36
Book IX.	Chap.	122	60

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE v

BOOK V.—THE MEDES AND PERSIANS.

CHAP. I.—THE PRIMITIVE ARIANS.

Section I. Divisions and Dwelling-places of the Ancient Ancestors of the Arian race 1
,, II. Manners and Degree of Civilisation 4
,, III. Family and Social Relations 7
,, IV. Religion 10
,, V. Traditions of the Creation 17

CHAP. II.—SEPARATION OF THE ARIAN NATIONS—ZOROASTER AND HIS RELIGION.

Section I. The Arians after the Emigration of the Western Tribes 21
,, II. Zoroaster 25
,, III. The Religion of Zoroaster 26
,, IV. Separation of the Arians 37

CHAP. III.—THE MEDES AND THEIR EMPIRE.

Section I. The Arian and Turanian Medes—Magism ... 41
,, II. Arbaces and the Arian Republic in Media ... 47
,, III. Deioces—Establishment of Royalty among the Medes 49
,, IV. Phraortes and Cyaxares—Great development of the Power of the Median Empire 51

CHAP. IV.—YOUTH OF CYRUS—DESTRUCTION OF THE MEDIAN EMPIRE.

Section I. Reign of Astyages and Childhood of Cyrus 56
,, II. The Persians and Cyrus 59
,, III. Glance at the Ancient History of Armenia—Tigranes I. and Astyages 62
,, IV. Defeat of Astyages, and Ruin of the Median Empire 66

PAGE

CHAP. V.—CONQUESTS OF CYRUS—FOUNDATION OF THE POWER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

Section I. Cyrus and the Arian Nations 68
,, II. The Inhabitants of Asia Minor..... 69
,, II . The Kingdom of Lydia and its Territory ... 74
,, IV. Cyrus and Crœsus—Fall of the Lydian Empire 80
,, V. Subjugation of the Greek Cities of Ionia, and of the rest of Asia Minor..... 85
,, VI. Conquest of the Countries beyond the Hindoo Koosh..... 87
,, VII. Destruction of the Babylonian Monarchy ... 88
,, VIII. The Release of the Hebrews 90
,, IX. End of the Reign of Cyrus 91

CHAP. VI.—CAMBYSES—THE FALSE SMERDIS—DARIUS, SON OF HYSTASPES.

Section I. Cambyses—The Conquest of Egypt..... 93
,, II. Expedition to Ethiopia—Madness and Death of Cambyses 97
,, III. The Reign of the False Smerdis—Accession of Darius 101
,, IV. Disorders in the Persian Empire 104
,, V. Organisation of the Government of the Empire 112
,, VI. The Buildings of Darius and the Architecture of the Persians 119
,, VII. The Chanceries of Darius and the Persian Writing 122
,, VIII. Darius and the Hebrews—Building of the Second Temple at Jerusalem 124
,, IX. The Scythians of Europe 126
,, X. Expedition of Darius against the Scythians 136
,, XI. Expedition to Cyrenaica and India 140

BOOK VI.—THE PHŒNICIANS.

CHAP. I.—PRIMITIVE PHŒNICIAN HISTORY.

Section I. Origin and Migration of the Canaanites 144
,, II. The Primitive Populations of Palestine 146
,, III. Establishment of the Canaanites in Palestine —Their Various Tribes 148
,, IV. Phœnicia and its Cities 152

CHAP. II.—SIDONIAN PERIOD.

Section I. The Canaanites in Egypt—First Efforts of the Sidonians in Navigation 154
,, II. Period of the Egyptian Dominion in Syria—Preponderance of Sidon, and its Commerce 159
,, III. Decline of the Sidonian Power—Invasions of the Israelites and Philistines—Fall of Sidon 167

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